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IN THIS ISSUE

COURTESY DONALD WHITEHEAD

The importance of the written word was reinforced once again during a recent visit to the Center for the Study of Southern Culture on The University of Mississippi campus in Oxford. Each spring the Center sponsors the Oxford Conference for the Book with readings, discussions, presentations, workshops, and lectures that examine and celebrate books and writing. For each conference a special souvenir poster and T-shirt are designed to capture the spirit and theme of the gathering. One past conference offered inspiration to readers and writers in recalling a sentence from the 1967 book *North Toward Home* in which the author Willie Morris reveals, "It took me years to understand that words are often as important as experience, because words make experience last." It is certainly our goal through the pages of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* to "make experience last."

This issue allows us to share the experiences of baseball players and fans in Utah Valley, miners and residents of a silver mining town in the northwest corner of the state, and participants in a hard-fought state election about how Utahns would be represented in their legislature. Also included is the story of one of America's most famous Hollywood stars making a movie in southern Utah while health-threatening radiation carried by prevailing winds swept eastward from the atomic testing sites in nearby Nevada.

What would summer be without baseball? One might also ask what would life be like without baseball, without its traditions, its atmosphere, its heroes, its words and expressions that are part of every day conversation,

and, like life itself, its unpredictable length and outcome. Our first article recalls semi-pro baseball in Provo from 1913 to 1958 as it focuses on the Timps—a team named for Mount Timpanogos, the majestic mountain that rises from the floor of Utah Valley.

SALT LAKE TRIBUNE COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The silver mining boom town of Vipont in the Goose Creek Mountains in the northwestern corner of Utah also had a baseball team whose rugged and primitive field was a distinct advantage to the home team. Given life in 1919 through the United States government price supports for silver, Vipont collapsed after those supports were withdrawn in 1923. All but forgotten, Vipont returns to life in the words and pictures of our second article.

Our third article illustrates the fundamental principle of democracy—the voice of the people in the decision-making process. In 1954 Utahns spoke through their votes in support of a redistricting plan to give more equal representation to residents of the state's populous counties—a plan that was opposed by a number of prominent LDS leaders.

The 1950s was a decade dominated by the Cold War and the fear of communism. It was also the first full decade of the atomic age that saw the testing of atomic bombs in the Nevada desert where heaven-reaching mushroom clouds of fire and dust seemed to announce the imminent destruction of the planet. Though the explosions were viewed by many in southern Utah, it was not the powerful exploding bombs that brought death, rather the unseen radiation that worked quietly but surely to bring disease and early death to unsuspecting victims. Was the movie hero John Wayne one of these victims? Our fourth article offers an answer.

OPPOSITE: Tug of War contest at Vipont, Utah, July 4, 1921. ABOVE: Joe Nelson and Johnny Anton preparing voting booth for 1954 elections. ON THE COVER: Baseball game in Salt Lake City, April 21, 1911. Shipler Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"The Biggest Advertisement for a Town:" Provo Baseball and the Provo Timps, 1913-1958

By JESSIE L. EMBRY

Throughout the twentieth century, Americans loved and played baseball on many levels: T-ball, Little League, Pony League, American Legion, town baseball, city recreational softball, minor league, industrial league, and the big time—major league baseball, to name a few. There has been little written about baseball in twentieth century Utah and about one of the state's premier non-professional baseball clubs, the Provo Timps.[1]

For small towns and cities in Utah, non-professional baseball in much of the twentieth century had the same effects on communities as professional baseball had on the nation. Former major league baseball commissioner A. Bartlett Giamatti has said: "It has long been my conviction that we can learn far more about the conditions, and values, of a society by contemplating how it chooses to play…than by examining how it goes about its work."[2] A study of town, commercial, and industrial baseball

Budweiser Baseball Team, May 7, 1911.

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[1] See Larry Gerlach "The Best in the West? Corinne, Utah's First Baseball Championship" and Kenneth L. Cannon "Deserets, Red Stockings, and Out-of-Towners: Baseball Comes of Age in Salt Lake City, 1877-79," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1984) for a treatment of baseball in Utah in the nineteenth century, and Jessie L. Embry and Adam Seth Darowski, "Coming Home: Community Baseball in Cache Valley, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 70 (Spring 2002).

[2] A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Take Time for Paradise* (New York: Summit Books, 1989), 13.

teams and leagues in Provo, Utah, provides valuable information about life in Utah Valley. As situations changed Provo, so did baseball. Around the turn of the twentieth century, many Americans moved from farms and rural agricultural towns to larger towns and cities. In many ways their sense of community disappeared, and they looked for new connections. According to historian Samuel Eliot Morison, 1870 to 1920 was an era of "the American joiner" when the urban middle class looked for new friendship and societal ties.[3]

In Utah County and the city of Provo, society moved a little slower but in the same direction. By 1920 more than half of all Americans lived in towns of more than 2,500. In Utah just over 50 percent still lived in rural areas and only three cities, Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo had more than 10,000 residents. Provo had a population of just 10,000. Still the Wasatch Front from Utah County to Weber County was taking on a more urban look. In Provo new factories such as Ironton and expanding businesses such as Startup Candy provided opportunities for steady employment with steady wages.[4]

With this changing environment, many urban Americans found connections in games. In 1917 historian Frederick Paxman called sports the new frontier, a "safety valve" to offset the "new pressures . . . from rapid industrialization."[5] Some played; others observed; all gained a sense of belonging. Provo followed a similar pattern. In many companies, sports promoted good will among employees and gave them social outlets. Games were also good advertisement. For example, a Provo baseball team called the "Startup Candy Kids" played from 1908 to 1914. The team traveled to rural Sanpete and Sevier counties to play baseball and the sponsorship of the team expanded the company's markets.

A month before the game, company manager T. H. (Harry) Heal sent posters to the two counties announcing the game between his team and the local town players. Stores closed, and everyone who came received a free piece of candy or a "chew of gum." According to Heal, "At that particular time we were advertising our new Buy-Roz chewing gum, which made a big hit." Admission was charged, and the take was split 60-40 to the winner and loser. According to Heal, "The Candy Kids won the game in each instance."[6]

Heal recalled a game played in 1912 when Startup played Richfield on the 24th of July. Startup won by one run, and Richfield insisted on a follow

[3] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 787.

[4] Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1995), 279, 281.

[5] C. W. Pope, American Sport History—Toward a New Paradigm," in C.W. Pope, ed., *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 1-2; Morison, *Oxford History*, 902.

[6] T. H. Harry Heal, *The Autobiography of Thomas Henry Heal*, (Provo: n.p. 1961), 118-19. Copy available at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

up game with the same players. Knowing the Startup pitcher "was fond of liquor," the Richfield fans put a ladder up by his hotel room window and gave him "all the liquor he could drink." Heal found out what had happened and sobered the player up. Fortunately, they had a pitcher who had played another position in the first game, so the former drunk played in the outfield. Startup won 5-3.[7]

Other Provo businesses also sponsored teams, but limited their teams' play to local commercial leagues. In 1913 the Printers, the Electrics, the Knight Woollen Mills, and the Plumbers formed a league. Businesses and tradesmen sponsored sports teams because the games gave the workers a break from their routine, provided opportunities to play in the fresh air, and encouraged a community attitude of "our team" against "your team" which strengthened loyalties to the company or profession. An added bonus was the advertisement and the goodwill entertainment provided to the town's residents.

The *Provo Herald* regularly reported the upcoming games and scores. It frequently used the teams' occupations for humorous puns. Reporting an upcoming game, the paper explained, "Everyone who attends the game Saturday should be well insulated as the Electrics intend turning on the juice. . . . However, the Printers will be there with ink." Ink prevailed as the Printers won 10 to 4. According to the *Herald*, "You have to slip it to those low-browed printers, for at our spacious, open-work ball ground at North Park, last Saturday evening, before a crowd of perhaps 600 people, they hurled the grim hook of efficacious defeat into a bunch of erstwhile optimistic electricians. . . . We will not attempt to give the game in detail; we have lots of nerve, but not enough for that."[8]

Provo businessmen and the city government also used baseball to encourage sports and to provide a sense of community, a "shop at home" attitude. Working through the chamber of commerce, a group of interested businessmen established the Provo Baseball Club and sponsored a Provo City team which competed against other towns in the Utah County Baseball League. Businesses frequently closed down for a half-day holiday during the week, believing that the recreation helped their employees work harder and encouraged residents to shop at their stores when they were open. Having a baseball team sometimes hinged on businesses offering the time off. Without closed businesses, clerks and other employees could not attend the game, and without fans, the baseball team could not afford to play.

The Provo team won its first game against Lehi 6 to 4 in 14 innings. Despite the extra innings, the *Herald* reported, "It was undoubtedly the fastest game that has been played for years in this vicinity. A good sized crowd attended from Provo and boosted the locals."[9]

[7] Ibid.
[8] *Provo Herald*, July 17; July 21, 1913.
[9] Ibid., May 9, 1913.

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Baseball leagues and teams were formed throughout Utah in first half of nineteenth century. Pictured here is the Richfield team.

The Provo town club played against the Commercial League Printers as part of Provo's Fourth of July celebration. The game was a highlight (or maybe a low light) that year. The Provo team was ahead 12-4 when a greased pig from a children's activity ran across the diamond. "It was certainly an amusing event to see what looked like a thousand boys after that poor little red-black pig and the crowds in hot pursuit. The pig seemed to think that the only chance of saving his life was to run, and run he did. The spectators said he outran any ball player on the diamond."[10]

Provo and Utah County baseball struggled during the 1910s. Town and league officials met each spring with hopes for a successful season, but their plans often failed. One year, 1916, illustrated the problems. On April 27, 1916, the *Herald* carried a large front page article with a huge headline, "Does Provo Want Baseball Nine?" According to the newspaper, "the clerks and the baseball players of the city" would hold a meeting soon. "This paper will be very glad to see a baseball team in Provo this summer and in fact we have been advocating this as a good boost for the town for several months." One problem was always finance, and the *Herald* pledged its support.

Other towns fielded teams as well, most notably Spanish Fork which was "making elaborate preparation for a good team this season" with Sunday baseball. The *Herald* was amazed, denying "the authorities here will allow

[10] Ibid., May 22; June 16; July 7, 1913. The towns fielding teams in 1913 were Lehi, American Fork, Lindon, Provo, Spanish Fork, Payson, and Springville.

Sunday ball in Provo and yet it will be very hard to get a sufficient crowd to support the team unless we have either a half holiday or Sunday baseball." While the paper opposed Sunday ball, it continued, "we do believe there should be a half holiday or enough closing time to allow the clerks and those who wish to attend to go to the game." The article continued, "A good baseball team is the biggest advertisement for a town like Provo that can be found."[11]

A meeting was held on May 1 at the commercial club to discuss community support and the issue of Sunday play but the newspaper did not record the results. They must have not been very successful because on May 15 the *Herald* explained, "Yesterday [Sunday] a picked-up baseball team from Provo went to Spanish Fork and was beaten to the tune of 5 to 3. . . . Such games as this one is the result of Provo not having a good, organized baseball team." The next issue carried a promised editorial entitled, "Shame on Provo" for allowing Sunday baseball, for sending a "disorganized bunch of fellows." and for not closing businesses for an afternoon. "This city has a reputation as an educational and religious center and yet when such things as occurred last Sunday happen it is a slap at the best element of the town as well as the whole valley." A week later, on a Sunday, a pick up team known as the Provo Cinders, named after the location of their club near the railroad tracks, beat another non-league team 5 to 4. The newspaper coverage of baseball in Provo for 1916 ended after that game.[12]

Part of the concern in 1916 was America's role in World War I. In April 1917 the United States declared war on Germany. On April 30, the *Herald* stated that Utah County needed to furnish 76 recruits by the end of May. With so many men gone, baseball in Utah County faded out completely. But in some ways, the war helped baseball. The end of the war brought a renewed interest. Many servicemen who had had no contact with the sport before learned about it during the war. Some returned to play but even more became fans. The war's ideals to make the world safe for democracy extended afterwards, and baseball was, according to historian Richard C. Crepeau, "the democratic game." Because equipment was inexpensive and the game could be played almost anywhere, "baseball was within the reach of all men, satisfying to both spectator and player." Crepeau and other historians saw the 1920s as the "Golden Age of Sports," and baseball led the way.[13]

Regularly scheduled games resumed when in April 1920 a town baseball league called the Central Utah Baseball League, was organized in Provo. At the same time the Provo Commercial Club organized a city baseball club, and W. A. Hines, manager of the Provo team, held tryouts. By May 3 the team was practicing "each evening on the North Park, but they say that the

[11] Ibid., April 27, 1916.

[12] Ibid., May 1; May 15; May 18; May 22, 1916.

[13] Ibid., April 30, 1917; Richard C. Crepeau, *Baseball: America's Diamond Mind, 1919-1941* (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1980), 3, 25, 106.

grounds are in poor shape." The Provo team had used the Brigham Young University field on Temple Hill in the past, but the club felt that it needed a new diamond for play in the reorganized league. The city officials approved the club directors request to use ten acres east of North Park. Plans were high for a new diamond which would seat 1,000 fans and cost $3,000. Alma Van Wagenen donated $100, and the board selected him chair of a finance committee to raise more money. Before the meeting was over, members pledged more than $1,000. Eventually the finance committee raised $3,500.[14]

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Companies such as Utah Power and Light often hired one or two workers to play on their teams.

Work started slowly on the new field in North Park at 500 North 500 West in Provo. The Provo team was forced to play its first game on the BYU field in May, but the paper praised the city's work, adding, "On Monday next, it is expected to call all the citizens out possible to erect the grandstand." The carpenter unions donated their time. More than two hundred men "worked like beavers" and in a short time completed the grandstand. According to the *Herald*, "The thing this County has been waiting for ten years is good, fast, clean, semi-professional baseball. We have it now." With some modifications over the years, this field became the home for the Provo baseball club until the 1950s. It was also used by city recreational teams and for special events.[15]

Provo lost its first game in the new stadium 3-2 to Springville. But years later Provo fans insisted the game should have been a 2-2 tie "as the last of Springville's runs was scored after the side had been retired." The Provo team struggled the first year but the newspaper was confident "that when Provo hits her stride we will bring home the league's pennant." Even though the team did not win, the club collected $300 to $400 per game and $600 when they played archrival American Fork.[16]

Gate receipts were often distributed among the players. Through the efforts of Provo Timp player, Glen Berge, some of this team's financial records have been saved to reveal in detail gate receipts and expenses of the Provo Timp team for the seasons of 1944 and 1945. In 1944 the team

[14] "Provo and the Central Utah Baseball League," *History Blazer,* June 1996; *Provo Herald*, April 15; April 26; May 3, 1920.

[15] "Provo," History Blazer; *Provo Herald*, May 10; May 17; May 20, 1920.

[16] "Provo," History Blazer; *Provo Herald*, May 31, 1920.

grossed over $8,500. After expenses that included federal and state taxes, gas for the team's travel, purchase of equipment, umpires' salaries, league fees, advertising, payment to Bob's Billards for beer, and other expenses, the Timp club divided the balance of $3,584 among the players. The following year gate receipts and other of the club's income was down slightly and as a result each player's cut or share was also reduced. Glen Berge missed two games during the 1945 season and as a result he earned fewer "cuts" for a total take of $202.80.[17]

After the first year Provo baseball vacillated. Did Provo want to have a town team and play with the local communities? Or was it "better" than the surrounding towns? Did it want to play with the "big" leagues from Salt Lake County? In 1923, for example, "Provo was not quite satisfied with the small town league and . . . joined with Salt Lake, Ogden, and Brigham City" in a state league. That "wiltered away and died at mid-season" because the Brigham team went under and "Ogden seconded the Peaches motion to adjourn the season."[18]

In 1924, T. H. (Harry) Heal put together another team called the Provo Timps, a pickup team described as "an independent baseball aggregation" playing teams from the Salt Lake Amateur League on a home-and-home schedule. When the Timps won their opener in June, the paper bragged, "[Provo's] newly organized and never-practised (sic) baseball team opened the national pastime season in Provo . . . before a small gathering of fans, with as brilliant an exhibition of baseball as ever was displayed at Timpanogos park during the days of the county league."[19]

The independent status did not last. In 1925 Provo was back in the town league, the Central Utah League. But there continued to be concerns. The Provo team often lacked fan support, especially when it lost. According to the *Herald*, "A better filled grandstand will do more than anything else to put the needed pep into the boys and may be the means of winning the league pennant." One reason for spotty attendance though was because businesses refused to close down on Wednesday afternoons. It was news when many businesses did close for games in July 1924 and Taylor Brothers closed in July 1925.[20]

Other concerns threatened the league. In 1927, for example, Heber City residents protested Sunday baseball games. While some players were willing to play any day, the town favored Friday. Heber businesses agreed to close for a half day holiday on Fridays so all Heber games were played that day.[21] The *Herald* reported on July 26, 1927, "The Heber squad is rent asunder as a result of a difference of opinion among the players and baseball board

[17] Papers of Glen Berge in author's possession.
[18] J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah: Simon K. Benson, 1974), 406.
[19] Provo Herald, May 19; May 21; June 5, 1924.
[20] Ibid., July 7, 1924; July 14; August 17, 1925.
[21] *Wasatch Wave*, July 15, 1927.

relative to Sunday games."[22] While most teams had home games during the week, mining towns like Eureka and Helper only took Sunday off and insisted home games should be played then. In the 1920s Eureka played its home games on Sunday. Helper joined the league in 1929 and played Sunday home games. Provo seemed to slide into Sunday baseball.

In 1929 the championship series between Provo and American Fork, winners of the first and second halves of the season, played games on two Sundays, a Wednesday and a Friday. In 1930 there were Sunday games with the Broadway Clowns, a traveling team. The first "legalized" Sunday baseball in Provo was on Sunday, April 24, 1932, which Ogden won 7-5. Thomas N. Taylor, an LDS stake president in Provo, fought Sunday baseball and other sabbath activities. His efforts were not successful though because the Provo Timps continued to play Sunday ball until 1956.[23]

Eligibility continued to be a problem for the league. Players, as was the custom in baseball leagues elsewhere across the county, often jumped from team to team. On August 4, 1927, the *Herald*'s sports page headline read, "Disregard of Eligibility Threatens Central Utah Loop." While the weaker teams complained that they could not pay players as other teams did, Eureka, Provo, Heber, Springville, and Payson teams used ineligible players who came from other leagues and teams and did not live in their towns. Each case was unique. For example, Eureka officials explained that "Bullet" Jones of the Northwestern Lumber League (in the Pacific Northwest) and a midwinter player on the Provo team several years before had a special need. His story "touched the hearts" of the other managers, and they granted him permission to play. Other teams used players who played in the Copper League, the Salt Lake Valley League, or the Utah-Idaho League.[24] Requests to use these players were granted. On August 10 the Provo paper reported, "Rumors of withdrawal from the league of smaller teams. . . . The eligibility fiasco at the recent league meeting has disgusted a number of the smaller teams." The article concluded, "Changes in policy must be made next season or the Central Utah League will be nothing but a memory."[25]

The larger cities in the league continued to use other players. Several of the teams from the smaller towns dropped out. By 1930, only Provo, American Fork, Helper, and Price fielded teams in the league. Several of the teams that dropped out of the league joined with some of the other towns in Utah Valley to play in the Farm Bureau League. The Central Utah League gradually shifted from a town league where local residents

[22] Provo Herald, July 26, 1927.

[23] According to a biography of T. N. Taylor, he was "for years . . . one of the regular attenders of the Provo Timps." [His biographer does not indicate whether Taylor attended Timp baseball games on Sundays following his sustaining as an LDS stake president.] Thomas Sterling Taylor, *The Life and Times of T.N.T.* as told to Theron H. Luke (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1959), 47, 102.

[24] The Utah-Idaho League ran from 1926 to 1929 with teams from Salt Lake City, Ogden, Logan, Pocatello, Twin Falls, Idaho Falls, and Boise.

[25] *Provo Herald*, August 4; August 10, 1927. The players from out of town were probably paid, but the paper does not say how much.

played for the love of the game to a semi-professional league while the Farm Bureau League carried on the town league tradition. Later, the Timpanogos League, another town league, continued town play.[26]

Provo won the Central Utah League championship for the first time in 1927 and again in 1929. In 1930 the team started out well, winning the first half of the season but came in last for the second half and then lost the championship playoff to Price. But the league with only four teams struggled to survive. The loss of one team would fold the league. So when Price decided not to field a team in the Central Utah League in 1931, league officers scrambled to find a replacement team. Springville, Midvale, and Nephi expressed interest in joining the league.

The 1930s brought more important changes than just a new baseball league to Provo, Utah, and the nation. During the Great Depression, many men were out of work. Recreation became, as a Pleasant Grove newspaper column described it, "a depression chaser." Provo City sponsored several baseball leagues including the commercial and LDS ward elders leagues. The state industrial league also provided entertainment. For a small fee, fans could also watch the Provo Timps play. Children got in free. Don Overly, who grew up in Southwest Provo enjoyed the games. After graduating from high school in 1934, he worked for the Civilian Conservation Corps for two years and then returned to Provo and played for the Timps. Provo and Gemmell and sometimes Helper "were battling for the championship." According to Overly, Provo "won many times."[27]

With the economic hard times, finding and keeping sponsors was a difficult task. In 1940 Coors Brewing Company sponsored the Ogden team. When the team folded, the company gave the uniforms, equipment, and name to the Provo team. According to the newspaper, Coors covered all of the Provo baseball team's expenses including exhibition games planned for Denver in August. The team known as the Provo Coors only lasted half a season. The newspaper did not record why there was a name change and whether the city dumped the beer company or the beer company gave up on Provo.[28]

During the 1930s the *Provo Herald* reported on all Timps games. Central Utah League teams and the recreational league teams were covered when the Timps were not playing. The newspaper's write-ups were colorful and detailed. An exhibition game between Provo and American Fork was "a battle royal for the fight fans, comedy for those with a sense of humor, thrills for those craving excitement, and some errors for the crabs to growl about." With a score of 15-12 for Provo, the paper exclaimed that "everyone but the bat boys were getting hits." In June 1941, the paper reported, "Our Timps

[26] Ibid., July 3; August 11, 1930; March 18, 1931,

[27] Ibid., June 15, 1932; Don Overly Oral History, interviewed by Jessie Embry, 2001, 1, Provo Baseball Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[28] *Provo Herald*, July 16, 1940.

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Brigham Young Academy (BYU) athletic field located on Temple Hill where Provo baseball was played in the early teens.

are going like the neighbor's kid with the roller skates downhill fast and with plenty of bumps along the way." Other teams struggled that year, so "industrial league standings like the map of Europe" changed "in the twinkling of an eye."[29]

There was always a rivalry between the leagues. Teams from the Utah State Industrial League played other teams on holidays or for special benefit games. On August 2, 1937, Provo played Dividend, a town team from the reconstituted Central Utah League, in a game to benefit the Utah Valley Hospital. The *Herald* built up the game, pointing out that the Timps had lost to Dividend twice and "many critics believe the Central Utah League plays as good a ball as the industrial league." The paper encouraged everyone to attend: those moved by the challenge to prove Provo the better team and those who supported the hospital. "Lovers of baseball, the great American game, will have a chance to help make the Utah Valley hospital a reality and at the same time see a classic ball game." Dividend won 11 to 8. LeVerl Christensen, the *Herald* reporter, insisted it was because "the Provo team was in a charity mood," giving up 12 errors. But the hospital benefitted; 662 paid admission.[30]

Provo baseball continued because of the loyal support of businessmen and players. Otto Birk, Provo's chief of police managed the Timps in the early years. Bob Bullock, who owned a local pool hall, was the team's secretary for years. Nearly all the Timps' business took place at his store, and

[29] Ibid., June 22, 1941.
[30] Ibid., August 3, 1937.

he supported the team financially as well. Other Provo businessmen served as directors for the baseball club. Most of the players stayed with the Timps for years. In 2001 Don Overly could name the team members from the 1930s and their positions. "These guys really were our idols. We could go up there when they practiced and shag fly balls for them."[31]

During the late 1930s and early 1940s Lob Collins, a physical education teacher and supervisor of Provo Recreation, managed the Timps and played second base. According to some, "The fans used to come out to see Lob Collins in action as much as they did to see a ball game. And, they loved it when he battled the umpires or anybody else he figured wasn't doing right by his Timps." Don Overly remembered a game where Collins and Frank Zaccaria, then the manager for Bingham's Gemmell club, "almost got into a fight on the field." Then Collins said, "We'll settle this in the club house" and told Overly to come with him. Daryl Robertson from Bingham also joined the fracas. According to Overly, "They went at it, fighting with bare fists over a silly game that kids like to enjoy. . . . Our manager hit him and knocked him down. He picked him and hit him down again. I can still remember Daryl Robertson saying, 'Lob, that's all right to knock him down, but you're not going to kill him. Leave him alone.'" In 1941 when Zaccaria and Collins met on the ball field again and "when it appeared that they would stage a repeat performance of their fist fight" Zaccaria and Collins were thrown out.[32]

Baseball rhubarbs, were not unusual in the Utah Industrial League. They often started because of a bad call by the umpire or rough play on the field. During a game with Brigham City in 1941, a Brigham City pitcher threw a bean ball hitting Provo batter Don Overly. Overly recalled suffering "a broken nose, two black eyes, and a serious head injury, [and] fracturing bones in my head. I remember getting hit between the eyes with a baseball. I didn't come to until three days later in Provo." The next year Collins in retaliation threatened to have his Provo Timp pitchers throw two for one bean balls if other teams continued to aim for his players.[33]

Although Collins managed for many years, he was not always willing to pilot the Provo Timp club. According to some, Collins understood the art of refusing to manage until at the last minute when he knew that the team had no other option. In 1944, for example, he threatened to retire, but agreed to manage after "the moguls, complimenting his fine efforts in past years, urged him to accept, stating that he was absolutely essential to the success of the club."[34]

In 1945 Collins seemingly retired from managing the club. Don Overly, the team's catcher, replaced him as manager. Overly, whose nickname was

[31] Ibid., March 24, 1932; Glen Berge, Oral History, interviewed by Michael Bonny, 2001. Overly, Oral History, 9.

[32] *Provo Herald*, August 17, 1941; April 14, 1944; May 20, 1955; Overly, Oral History, 3.

[33] *Provo Herald*, July 9; July 20; July 21, 1941; September 3, 1942; Overly, Oral History, 3.

[34] *Provo Herald*, April 14, 1944.

"Choc"—he always wanted chocolate ice cream after games— was drafted in mid-season and sent to Japan as part of the occupation forces. Collins returned to complete the year as manager. When Overly returned from military service, American Fork citizens convinced him that he should play baseball for them because he lived and worked there.[35]

World War II had a major impact on baseball at all levels of the game. Franklin D. Roosevelt had mixed reactions to the sport. While he recognized the value of providing a break for those employed in war industries, baseball players at all levels were required to serve in the military. As a result most of the best players were drafted into the military. In Utah, on the other hand, with the infusion of older civilian workers, some who played baseball elsewhere at higher levels of play, and those who were in the military and stationed at the several military bases better players played in the Utah State Industrial League.[36]

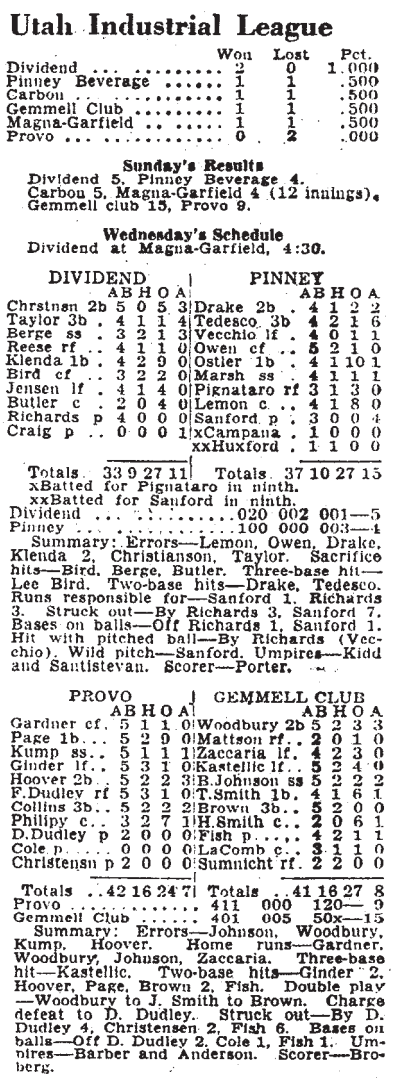
The war caused the Industrial League to modify its policies and allow each team to use four outsiders. Harry Eisenstat, for example, pitched eight years for the Brooklyn Dodgers, Detroit Tigers, and the Cleveland Indians with a career earned run average of 3.84, prior to joining the military and rising to the rank of second lietenant. Eisenstat played for Provo for a short time during the 1945 season while waiting at Kearns Army Base to be shipped to the Pacific. The *Provo Herald* listed him as a member of the "star studded" Kearns team with pitchers "the envy of many class A or even major league managers" and Provo's opponent for a Fourth of July celebration. Eisenstat did not pitch in the game; the Timps beat Kearns 7-4. Three days later the *Herald* bragged, "Batteries for today's game. Eisenstat will pitch and Overly will catch" for the Provo Timps. The newspaper described Eisenstat as a "handsome, young lieutenant" who was "not very large, throws left handed" and fun to watch. With his help, Provo defeated Pinney Beverage, the team that had won the first half of the season, 6-2.[37]

Eisenstat won the hearts of Provo fans during the short time he played for Provo. Don Overly liked catching for him, especially when Eisenstat told him, "You've been around this league enough and you know the hitters." According to Overly, "Eisenstat's bad pitches are so close to being good that they could be called the other way." The feelings were mutual according to the *Herald's* reporter Pete Olsen. Eisenstat told him, "I have pitched to catchers in the majors that are not as good" as Overly. On August 5, the *Herald* described the Timps' newest star: "Fans need no introduction to Harry. He is one of the best pitchers ever to throw the horsehair in this area. Smooth working, clever and experienced, he is a picture to watch." In addition, the paper said he had a "quiet, likeable disposition" and

[35] Ibid., April 30, 1945; Overly, Oral History. 2. Don Overly for many years was the director of athletics at American Fork High School.

[36] Douglas A. Novert and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, *The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865-1980* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983), 149-52; *Provo Herald*, July 13, 1944.

[37] *Provo Herald*, July 13, 1944; July 3; July 5; July 7; July 8; July 9, 1945.



Utah Industrial League

	Won	Lost	Pct.
Dividend	2	0	1.000
Pinney Beverage	1	1	.500
Carbon	1	1	.500
Gemmell Club	1	1	.500
Magna-Garfield	1	1	.500
Provo	0	2	.000

Sunday's Results

Dividend 5, Pinney Beverage 4.
Carbon 5, Magna-Garfield 4 (12 innings).
Gemmell club 15, Provo 9.

Wednesday's Schedule

Dividend at Magna-Garfield, 4:30.

DIVIDEND	AB	H	O	A	PINNEY	AB	H	O	A
Chrstnsn 2b	5	0	5	3	Drake 2b	4	1	2	2
Taylor 3b	4	1	1	4	Tedesco 3b	4	2	1	6
Berge ss	3	2	1	3	Vecchio lf	4	0	1	1
Reese rf	4	1	1	0	Owen cf	5	2	1	0
Klenda 1b	4	2	9	0	Ostler 1b	4	1	10	1
Bird cf	3	2	2	0	Marsh ss	4	1	1	1
Jensen lf	4	1	4	0	Pignataro rf	3	1	3	0
Butler c	2	0	4	0	Lemon c	4	1	8	0
Richards p	4	0	0	0	Sanford p	3	0	0	4
Craig p	0	0	0	1	xCampana	1	0	0	0
					xxHuxford	1	1	0	0
Totals	33	9	27	11	Totals	37	10	27	15

xBatted for Pignataro in ninth.
xxBatted for Sanford in ninth.

Dividend ..... 020 002 001—5
Pinney ..... 100 000 003—4

Summary: Errors—Lemon, Owen, Drake, Klenda 2, Christianson, Taylor. Sacrifice hits—Bird, Berge, Butler. Three-base hit—Lee Bird. Two-base hits—Drake, Tedesco. Runs responsible for—Sanford 1, Richards 3. Struck out—By Richards 3, Sanford 7. Bases on balls—Off Richards 1, Sanford 1. Hit with pitched ball—By Richards (Vecchio). Wild pitch—Sanford. Umpires—Kidd and Santistevan. Scorer—Porter.

PROVO	AB	H	O	A	GEMMELL CLUB	AB	H	O	A
Gardner cf	5	1	1	0	Woodbury 2b	5	2	3	3
Page 1b	5	2	9	0	Mattson rf	2	0	1	0
Kump ss	5	1	1	1	Zaccaria lf	4	2	3	0
Ginder lf	5	3	1	0	Kastellic lf	5	2	4	0
Hoover 2b	5	2	2	3	B.Johnson ss	5	2	2	2
F.Dudley rf	5	3	1	0	T.Smith 1b	4	1	6	1
Collins 3b	5	2	2	2	Brown 3b	5	2	0	0
Philipy c	3	2	7	1	H.Smith c	2	0	6	1
D.Dudley p	2	0	0	0	Fish p	4	2	1	1
Cole p	0	0	0	0	LaComb c	3	1	1	0
Christensn p	2	0	0	0	Sumnicht rf	2	2	0	0
Totals	42	16	24	7	Totals	41	16	27	8

Provo ..... 411 000 120— 9
Gemmell Club ..... 401 005 50x—15

Summary: Errors—Johnson, Woodbury, Kump, Hoover. Home runs—Gardner, Woodbury, Johnson, Zaccaria. Three-base hit—Kastellic. Two-base hits—Ginder 2, Hoover, Page, Brown 2, Fish. Double play—Woodbury to J. Smith to Brown. Charge defeat to D. Dudley. Struck out—By D. Dudley 4, Christensen 2, Fish 6. Bases on balls—Off D. Dudley 2, Cole 1, Fish 1. Umpires—Barber and Anderson. Scorer—Broberg.

Utah Industrial League standings, July 1938. Glen Berge shortstop for the Dividend Team, later played for the Provo Timps where he batted over .480 for the season. He played briefly for the Salt Lake City Bees in the Pioneer League.

was "a gentleman." That day Eisenstat helped Provo to a 4-3 victory over Brigham City.[38]

Eisenstat continued to play for Provo, a member of the Utah Industrial League and Kearns, an independent team. On July 16, the Timps and Kearns played for the Utah semi-pro championship; the winner went to the national championship. Eisenstat pitched for Kearns and defeated the Timps 7-1. The newspaper reported that he might play for Provo on August 5 against Pinney, the first game that Collins resumed managing the Timps, but warned fans it might be his last game because he was scheduled to be shipped to the Pacific. However, Eisenstat, who apparently had been transferred from Utah by the military, did not play, nor did he go to Wichita with the Kearns team to play for the national championship later in August. After the trip to Kansas, the Kearns team disbanded.[39]

The war not only provided additional and generally better players, it was also a focus in the stands. For the opening game in May 1944, Provo City sponsored pre-game activities with a war theme. The city commissioners had pitching, catching, and batting exhibitions. "Carrying through the war theme will be a flag raising ceremony with the two teams lining the first and third baselines to form a V for victory." As part of the fifth war loan bond drive, spectators purchased bonds at a game in July. Fans pledged $7,525 at the game. Alma Van Wagenen gave two thousand dollars. He was willing to give even more, one thousand dollars for each home run hit in the game but "there were no takers."[40]

Still the Industrial League and local teams depended mostly on local

[38] Ibid., July 8; July 23; August 5; August 6, 1945; Overly, Oral History, 1-2.
[39] Ibid., July 16; August 2; August 12; August 13; September 3, 1945.
[40] Ibid., May 3; July 5, 1944.

players. Bob Story, for example, played baseball for the South High Cubs during the war; his team won the state championship all three years he played there. When he graduated in 1944, Pinney Beverage gave him a job and a spot on its baseball team. The team was young; half of the players were seventeen or eighteen years old. Yet, they won third place.

During the 1944 baseball season a professional baseball scout recognized Story's talents and signed him to play baseball professionally. The next year Story played with the Pennsylvania Bradford Blue Wings, a Philadelphia farm team until he was sold to a Brooklyn farm team in Olean, New York, both Class D teams in the PONY League. In 1947 Story came home and married. Rather than returning to the east, he remained in Utah and played for the Salt Lake Bees for one season. A year later he played for the Boise Pilots, both teams in the Class C Pioneer League. Wanting to stay even closer to home, Story played for Brigham City in the Utah Industrial League for one season. He moved to Provo to play for the Timps when "the Provo people sent some people up to talk to me after the 1949 season. They offered me a choice of three different jobs. They were really good to us. When we got here, they had us a home all rented."[41]

With players like Story, the Utah Industrial League continued after the war. The *Provo Herald* bragged, "The Utah Industrial League is one of the fastest semi-pro circuits in the country," comparable to "many leagues of higher classification."[42]

The 1950s were a time of prosperity in Utah and across the nation. Americans had more leisure time and money. Historian John P. Rossi explained that major league "baseball barely survived World War II." But when peace came professional baseball "like the nation itself, looked toward the postwar period with a combination of optimism and trepidation."[43] Americans wanted to return to normal, but the Cold War and Korea prevented that. Still, fans came out to see the games. As one historian explained, "Americans had more free time, more mobility, more money, and a TV set." They used these to become involved in sports.[44]

During the early 1950s, the Utah Industrial League prospered. Fans came to see the games; players had jobs and money from playing the game they loved. The Provo Baseball Club continued to sponsor the team every year except for 1952. That year Harry Parsley, a newcomer and automobile dealer, took over. Player-manager Glen Berge remembered, Parsley "was going to start his own ball club. Provo decided they were glad to let someone else do it and put up the money, so they turned it over to Parsley." The first thing the new owner did was change the name. He surveyed fans, and 65 percent said they did not like the name Timps; half of the remaining 35

[41] Bob Story Oral History, interviewed by Adam Darowski, 2001.

[42] *Provo Herald*, July 22, 1945

[43] John P. Rossi, *A Whole New Game: Of the Field Changes in Baseball, 1946-1960* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1999), 6.

[44] Novert and Ziewacz, *The Games They Played*,191.

percent thought that the name should be the Timp Braves and not just Timps. So a fan contest was held, and the prize was the newest gadget, a television set. For one season the Provo team was known as the Flyers.[45]

Parsley hired Glen Berge as the manager. Berge, like many other players, had played baseball on several levels. He started on Payson's town team and then moved to Dividend in 1934. He worked in the machine shop at the mine in the summer because the mine operators did not want to send a special car down to get him when he had an afternoon game. After Dividend won its tournament, U.S. Mines Company, "who played a little better classification" of baseball asked Berge to play for its team. Berge then played for the Salt Lake Bees to replace an injured player and then came to Provo. Berge felt that shortstop was too important a position to play and manage, so he stopped playing. He found the best athletes possible and won the championship in 1952.[46]

Parsley signed the players to contracts, and gave prizes, usually watches for home runs. *Herald* sports editor Roy Schwartz called one new player, Clair Faux from Moroni a "freak find." Faux played town baseball for Moroni in the Sanpete-Sevier league. In 1952, he read a notice in the local newspaper for Timp tryouts. He decided to "ride up and try out." Berge quickly recognized that Faux had talent and asked Faux if he could come to another practice.[47]

Parsley gave Faux a job at his Lincoln Mercury dealership washing cars and pumping gas. "He had a big red Lincoln convertible and I'd have to wash that car every morning," Faux recalled. But Parsley signed the players to contracts. Faux started at $10 a game; Parsley promised him $15 in the second half if he did well. Faux got the raise and decided that because he was making $30 to $45 a week just playing ball he did not need to wash the Lincoln. After one year Parsley left to take over an automobile dealership in Kansas City, and the Provo Baseball Club returned as sponsors for the Timps.[48]

The Timps continued until 1957. The league, like many leagues underwent changes, teams added and others dropped. The last year,1957,four Utah County towns—Provo, American Fork, Spanish Fork, and Pleasant Grove—competed; the other teams—Bingham, Magna, and Midvale—had dropped out usually because of money problems. Companies could not afford to sponsor teams anymore. Even the Timps struggled financially. In the middle of the 1953 season, Jim Mazurie, the Provo Baseball Club president and a superintendent at Geneva Steel, explained he had kept the team going by "retrenching" but things would be even harder during the second half of the season. Schwartz correctly predicted that if the league ended semipro ball might be gone for a long time.[49]

[45] Berge, Oral History.
[46] Ibid.
[47] *Provo Herald*, May 6, 1952; Clair and Sally Faux Oral History, interviewed by Jessie Embry, 2001, 1-3.
[48] Faux, Oral History, 4-5; *Provo Herald*, April 2; April 3, 1952; Berge, Oral History.
[49] *Provo Herald*, July 12, 1953.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Ogden's baseball club joined with the Provo Timps, Brigham City, and Salt Lake City to form a state baseball league in the 1920s.

As the Provo team struggled, someone suggested tongue-in-check that because the LDS church had taken over the Fourth of July celebrations in Provo with good success, perhaps the church should take over baseball too. The church may not want to pay the players and Sunday baseball would have to go with church sponsorship, but given the small crowds that might not be a bad idea. Schwartz explained, "If the church took over the program, you can bet there would be a good sized crowd and whooping and hollering helps makes for excitement and color, not to mention more inspired baseball."[50]

The LDS church did not take over, but the league tried other changes. In 1954 Provo Baseball Club president Jim Mazarie replaced Marty Krug, a former Salt Lake Bee player, explaining that Krug lived in Salt Lake City and it would be better to have a manager who lived nearby. He hired Doug Hansen whose baseball experiences matched other semi-pro players. Hansen grew up in California and was good enough as a high school player that the major leagues drafted him. He played several years in the minor leagues and had just been called up to the Cleveland Indians where he played in three games when he was drafted by the military in 1951 during the Korean War. In 1953, after his military service, he almost made the Cleveland Indians starting lineup when the second baseman failed to show up on time for spring training**.** Unfortunately, an injury ended that plan, and afterward Hansen played for several AAA and AA teams. By 1955

[50] Ibid., August 9, 1953.

he had married, become a father, and decided he did not want to live on the road. When Jim Mazurie, president of the Provo Baseball Club and a supervisor at Geneva Steel, offered Hansen a job at the plant and the chance to be a player-manager for the Timps, Hansen agreed. It gave him the opportunity to return to Provo where he had met his wife, attend BYU, and continue to play the game he loved.[51]

Hansen's job at Geneva led to a flare up that nearly destroyed the league. As teams dropped out, others were added, including Spanish Fork. Spanish Fork was so upset with the Hansen hiring at Geneva and the Provo Baseball Club that it threatened to withdraw from the league. Apparently, Spanish Fork officials had announced that Hansen would be their manager and were disappointed when he went with Provo. Without Spanish Fork, there would be only four teams in the league, and Pleasant Grove refused to play with fewer teams. After a discussion in which Mazurie maintained Hansen and another player were hired at Geneva because of their abilities and the American Fork baseball team president urged Geneva to help all the teams in the league, not just Provo, Spanish Fork agreed to field a team.[52]

Hansen was a very successful player-manager for two years. The first year he "inspired his players by his own feats and hustle," batting .470 and becoming "the finest defensive second baseman Provo ever had" according to some. Schwartz explained that while some fans criticized Hansen he "won the championship by taking a gang of youngsters, inserting a few veterans, . . . and infusing his team with a tremendous will-to-win." In 1956 the Utah State League joined with the Northwest League. That year seven teams played from Bingham, Magna, Midvale, American Fork, Pleasant Grove, Provo, and Spanish Fork. The new leaders hoped that eventually an eight-team circuit would be able to help young Utah baseball players. The Timps won the first and second half championships and had a winning streak of twenty-six games.[53]

A year later the Timps moved from Sunday games to night games, but attendance remained low. While some argued that there was not enough publicity, Schwartz said those who did not know about the change were "either asleep at the switch or just [didn't] give a hoot." Others complained that the league needed to control the on the field fighting among players. That same year one "wild, rhubarb-filled game . . . almost ended in a free for all in the eighth inning." Schwartz argued that he liked the fights as long as they did not end in a "barroom brawl." While some feared baseball was dying, he felt that some fights or "rhubarbs" kept up interest with "a thrill a minute" and a "fight a minute."[54]

[51] Pat Hansen, Oral History, interviewed by Jessie Embry, 2001.

[52] Ray Schwartz, "Spanish Fork Decides to Remain in Semipro Circuit; Air Cleared," newspaper clipping in Doug Hansen, Scrapbook, used by permission.

[53] Hansen, Scrapbook.

[54] *Provo Herald*, July 8; July 19; July 22; July 24, 1955.

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The U.S. Smelter baseball team (1912) was one of many baseball clubs supported by companies and business in Utah.

In 1957 Doug Hansen suggested that the league go to a twenty game season and have a playoff with the top four teams, rather than just the first and second half winners. He argued that after a team won the first half it did not try to win the second to force a playoff. While American Fork had won the first half that year and said they were trying to win the second half, most believed that American Fork and the rest of the league wanted another team to win the second half to provide a "lucrative playoff."[55] Hansen's plan for a short season and a round robin playoff worked one year.

In April 1958, the league voted to discontinue at least for one season. The team presidents gave several reasons. Magna, Bingham, and Midvale could not play because of personnel cutbacks. Spanish Fork had financial problems. Schwartz explained, "The league has operated on somewhat shaky ground for the past several years and has threatened to fold up on numerous occasions. But up to now, it has always managed to stagger along one way or another." Schwartz added that he hated to see the league go. "Although rocked by numerous rhubarbs over the years, it still has a long proud history with more than its share of colorful and somewhat zany characters."[56]

[55] Ibid., August 4, 1957.
[56] Ibid., April 2, 1958.

The *Herald* suggested other problems as well. Longtime supporter and past Provo Baseball Club president Bob Bullock contended, "Baseball fans in the area have shown by their lack of patronage that they aren't interested in semipro ball." The managers feared competition from changes in the minor leagues. When the Dodgers and the Giants moved to California in 1958, the Hollywood Stars, a Pacific Coast League team, moved to Salt Lake City, becoming the Bees. Bullock pointed out, "We'll have some of the best baseball played in the United States right in our backyard. And when the new freeway is completed, people in Provo will be able to come to Derks Field [in Salt Lake City] in about 30 minutes. That's quicker than some fans living in some parts of Salt Lake City."[57] Even though there was no clear evidence that the Bees were in competition for fans, especially since the new team did not advertise outside the Salt Lake Valley, the general feeling among the state industrial league team presidents was that no one would come watch local talent if they could watch a more talented professional team.

Expansion teams were not the predominant problem though. By the 1950s most Americans had television and could stay at home to watch major league baseball games and other sporting events. Even the major leagues worried as their attendance dropped.[58] Don Overly explained the Utah State Industrial League died "because of too many other forms of entertainment like television." Bob Story added, "People got other things they could do. They could get in their cars and go someplace. Before that [baseball] was the main show in town every Sunday afternoon."[59] Under these circumstances, the Utah State Industrial League did not resume play after 1958 and the Provo Timps died with the league.

For nearly half a century, baseball was an important part of Provo and that included the amateur and semi-professional team, the Provo Timps. They were part of the spectator sports movement that developed in the United States during the 1920s. They provided entertainment and emotional relief during depression and war-time. They continued to entertain during relative peace and the cold war. In Utah with major league games on television and Salt Lake City rejoining the AAA Pacific Coast League, the Utah Industrial League and the Provo Timps died away.

The enjoyment and community spirit the Utah Industrial Baseball Leauge and the Provo Timps brought to Utah and Utah Valley has almost been forgotten. But the traditions they established continue in Provo today as Provo now is host of its own professional baseball team, the rookie league Provo Angels.

[57] Ibid.
[58] Rossi, *A Whole New Game*, 114.
[59] Don Overly, Oral History, 13; Bob Story, Oral History.

Vipont, Utah — A Lost and Almost Forgotten Ghost Town

By FAYE FARNSWORTH THOLEN

ARCHAEOLOGY GIS PROGRAM, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Map of Northwestern Box Elder County showing Vipont.

Between 1919 and 1923 the Vipont silver boom occurred in the Goose Creek Mountains located in the northwestern corner of Utah. At the approximate same time the better-known Bingham Canyon Copper Mine's "bust" occurred. Both were directly connected to government fiscal policies. The armistice to end World War I was signed in the latter part of 1918, causing price supports to be removed from copper and, as a result, the price for copper dropped from twenty-two to eighteen cents a pound. Consequently several plants shut down, wages were reduced to seventy-five cents per day, and forty percent of the work force was laid off. Restaurants and stores went bankrupt and banks failed.[1]

However, at the same time, the need by the United States to pay off war debts boosted silver prices to a guaranteed one dollar an ounce. Vipont's silver industry soared and a bustling town site was born. By 1922 the smallest wage for a Vipont miner was $4.50 per day. Though no record has been found, surely some of the unemployed Bingham miners found their way to Vipont. Then, as government support for silver was withdrawn in 1923 the price of silver dropped from $1.00 per ounce to $.64 per ounce. Vipont tottered and collapsed. At the same time copper prices rebounded; Bingham's crisis vanished and that mining town survived. This is the story of Vipont, the little mining town that *didn't* survive.

Even though Vipont should rightfully take its place with other Utah ghost towns located in Box Elder County, such as Cedar Creek, Promontory, Park Valley, Kelton, and Terrace, Vipont differed from these remembered Utah

Faye Farnsworth Tholen has written several family history books. This article is a result of her research to locate Vipont, Utah, where her parents Franklin Dennis Farnsworth and Venola Whitehead met. The author is grateful to Kristen S. Rogers for her encouragement and assistance.

[1] Lynn R. Bailey *Old Reliable, A History of Bingham Canyon, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Lore Press 1988), 151.

ghost towns because of its natural geological separation from them. Rather than being located in the Great Basin drainage with its natural flow into the Great Salt Lake, Vipont is surrounded by mountains and located in the Snake River drainage with its stream drainage flowing northward into the Snake River basin; therefore access to Vipont was through southern Idaho rather than through Utah. Residents relied on the town of Oakley, Idaho, and the Oregon Shortline railroad, twenty-six miles to the north, for their life link. Lucin, the nearest Utah railhead, was thirty-six miles away to the south and accessible only on a less traveled mountainous road.

The Vipont mine and ghost town, located in the far northwest corner of Utah at the head of Birch Creek, can be reached by traveling north of Grouse Creek, Utah, toward Oakley, Idaho, on the Goose Creek road. About two miles beyond the Idaho border is the Birch Creek turnoff. The Birch Creek road then angles back to the southeast and reenters Utah as it continues up the Birch Creek drainage to its headwaters in the Vipont area. Total travel on Birch Creek road is about five miles. Vipont is a mountainous area of high smooth-worn ridges with broad, gentle sloping sides descending into open, grassy basins. The whole view is one of delightful mountain scenery with its stands of aspens and conifers on the north facing slopes and its rolling hills of green painted with many-colored wild flowers —a garden of beauty in summer, but a bleak, wind-swept habitat of snow and cold in winter. This town site is not far from the City of Rocks and Granite Pass on the old California Trail. [2]

The Vipont mine is located within the Ashbrook Mining District. While Vipont was located entirely in Utah, the Ashbrook Mining District, organized on July 1, 1874, lies primarily in Box Elder County, but partially extends northward into Cassia County, Idaho. There are eleven other mining districts located within Box Elder County: the Lucin, Crater Island, Newfoundland, Rosebud, Park Valley, Yost, Clear Creek, Promontory, Sierra Madre, Willard, and Box Elder districts.[3]

According to tradition, brothers John and William Vipont, well-traveled hunters and prospectors from New York State, were hunting the hills in northwestern Utah in about 1866 when John found a rich vein of ore. The brothers made the Birch Creek basin their home for about eight years where they lived, hunted, trapped, and prospected the ground before they recorded the Homestake, Argenta, and Lexington claims in 1873.

[2] *The Salt Lake Mining Review*, July 15, 1921.

[3] Hellmut H. Doelling *Geology and Mineral Resources of Box Elder County, Utah*, Utah Geological and Mineral Survey, a division of the Utah Department of Natural Resources, (Bulletin 115, 1980), 14. The Lucin district, located along the Nevada border, was ultimately the most important district, producing 99.5 percent of the copper and 74.6 percent of the lead from Box Elder County, with a total production value of about $3.75 million. The Ashbrook district is listed as the second most important district with the Vipont and Skoro mines being the two most important mines in the district. The Ashbrook district's production was primarily in silver, having produced 92.4 percent of the county's silver, with a total production value of $3.35 million, and by 1923 Utah was the largest producer of silver in the country. The other mining districts had a far smaller yield.

Eventually, they abandoned the ground and moved to Butte, Montana, then to old Mexico where John was killed. William Vipont, who revisited the mine in about 1903, told this story to a later owner of the mine.[4] Another account gives "Indian Jack," a Shoshone native, credit for taking John Vipont to the outcrop and showing it to him for a small consideration. Whichever is right, the Vipont brothers were the first locators of the mine, and the Vipont mine and town bear their name.[5]

As with most mines and holdings, the Vipont changed ownership several times. When the Vipont brothers' title lapsed Dave Fenstermaker, a picturesque frontiersman, noted boozer, and Indian fighter of bygone days, recorded the mines then lost them in a poker game to a Dr. John F. White and Mr. House of Salt Lake City, Utah, who owned and worked the property for a time then sold it to a Mr. Dodge and a Mr. McLaughlin, also of Salt Lake City. In 1892 and 1893 Dodge and McLaughlin made several shipments of high-grade silver ore to the Old Telegraph Smelter, whose mines were located in Bear Gulch, a few hundred feet above Bingham Canyon in the Oquirrh Mountains.[6] In 1895 Dodge and McLaughlin sold the property to J. H. Paris and Frank J. Lake, who organized the Vipont Mining and Improvement Company and held title from 1895 until May 1919, when the Vipont Silver Mining Company, owned by R. H. Channing Jr. and J. Parks Channing, with C. A. Phillips as general manager, acquired the property.[7] During the years from Vipont's first mining actions in 1873 until May 1919 there were minor booms and busts. Media coverage, population count, and post offices were some indications of the booms and busts of mining towns. The *Salt Lake Mining Review* published only six articles about Vipont from July 1900 to July 1902. The next article did not appear until May 30, 1916, when it was reported that work was to be resumed at the Vipont mines. Regular coverage began on May 15, 1918, and lasted until the last article about Vipont was published on August 15, 1923.[8] This media coverage illustrates the slight boom in 1900 and the big boom, which began with a slow start in 1918 and moved forward with greater momentum to 1923.

In 1900 there was much excitement regarding the future of Vipont when thirty-eight people lived in the community. A post office was established in 1900. In 1902 there were enthusiastic reports of a big strike in the face of an 800-foot tunnel wherein miners found silver and gold. Plans were made to upgrade the equipment to handle the "immense tonnage" of low-grade ore blocked out in the mine workings.[9] But by 1905 little activity was

[4] *The Salt Lake Mining Review,* July 15, 1921.
[5] Ibid.
[6] R. L. Polk and Company *1892 Salt Lake City Directory,* 1030.
[7] *The Salt Lake Mining Review,* July 15, 1921.
[8] The Index to the Salt Lake Mining Review 1899-1928, Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey Bulletin 91, August 1971.
[9] *The Salt Lake Mining Review,* December 15, 1900.

COURTESY OAKLEY VALLEY MUSEUM, OAKLEY, IDAHO

Mr. and Mrs Francis (Frank) Lake, co-owner of the Vipont Mining and Improvement Company, 1895-1919.

reported and the post office was closed.[10] Many, however, expected the Vipont Mine to become productive once again including Don Maguire who wrote in the *Box Elder News*: "The Vipont mine…is destined in the very near future to become one of the largest producers in Utah. The causes of its lying dormant seem to be the inability of the principal owners to settle upon a fixed course as regards its opening and development."[11]

J. H. Paris and Frank J. Lake had done extensive work on the Vipont Mine during their twenty-three years of ownership, but had little profit to show for their years of work. In July 1918 Frank Lake placed the Vipont under a bond and lease agreement for between $250,000 and $300,000 to Charles A. Phillips, a prominent mining man and superintendent of a large silver mine at Silver City, Idaho.[12] Lake then reinvested the funds in an adjacent property, the Idaho-Utah Mine, where in 1920 he found a rich vein of silver from which he expected positive results.[13]

With his partners, attorneys Samuel H. King and A. Phillips of Salt Lake City, and J. B. Randall, Vice President of Oakley State Bank, Phillips renamed the Vipont Mining and Improvement Company the Vipont Silver Mining Company and took possession of all the property, including 1,700 acres of patented land, 53 mining claims, and all the machinery.[14] They soon put a crew to work.

A short time later, Phillips persuaded R. H. Channing, Jr., president of the Utah Consolidated Mining Company, and his brother, J. Park Channing of Boston, to purchase the Vipont Silver Mining Company. The new owners brought in a staff of capable young engineers including Frank A. Wardlaw, Jr., a 1910 graduate from Columbia University with a degree in mining engineering, as general superintendent of the mine and mill. M. A. Roche assisted Wardlaw as second in command. The new mill was

[10] Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County*, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Box Elder County Commission, 1999), 411.

[11] Quoted in Lydia Walker Forsgren, ed., *History of Box Elder County 1851-1937* (Brigham City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1937), 137.

[12] *The Salt Lake Mining Review*, June 15, 1918, 38.

[13] *The Oakley Herald*, November 19, 1920.

[14] Conversation with Kent Hale a long-time Oakley resident who is writing a history of Oakley, Idaho, February 22, 2002.

COURESY OAKLEY VALLEY MUSEUM, OAKLEY, IDAHO

Overburden, lumber, and other materials were hauled into and out of mines on "lumber trucks" powered by horses and mules in the 1920s. Eldon Whittle driving Jack with Ringo riding on Jack and Shorty on the lumber truck.

constructed soon after the change in ownership took place and began operating in 1919.[15]

Mining continued into the winter of 1918 with three carloads of gold and silver ore shipped from Vipont to smelters in the Salt Lake Valley. A boarding house and an office building were erected, and necessary supplies were brought in to keep sixteen employees working throughout the winter. In the spring of 1919 additional workers built a concentrating mill of one hundred fifty tons capacity. The workers improved the wagon road and built a power line from Oakley to the mine.[16]

From 1919 until 1923 Vipont grew into a major mining community of five hundred residents, and became the best known mine in Box Elder County.[17] For several years the mine, employing up to three hundred men working three shifts a day, was the largest producer of silver in Box Elder County and fifth-ranking silver producer in Utah.[18]

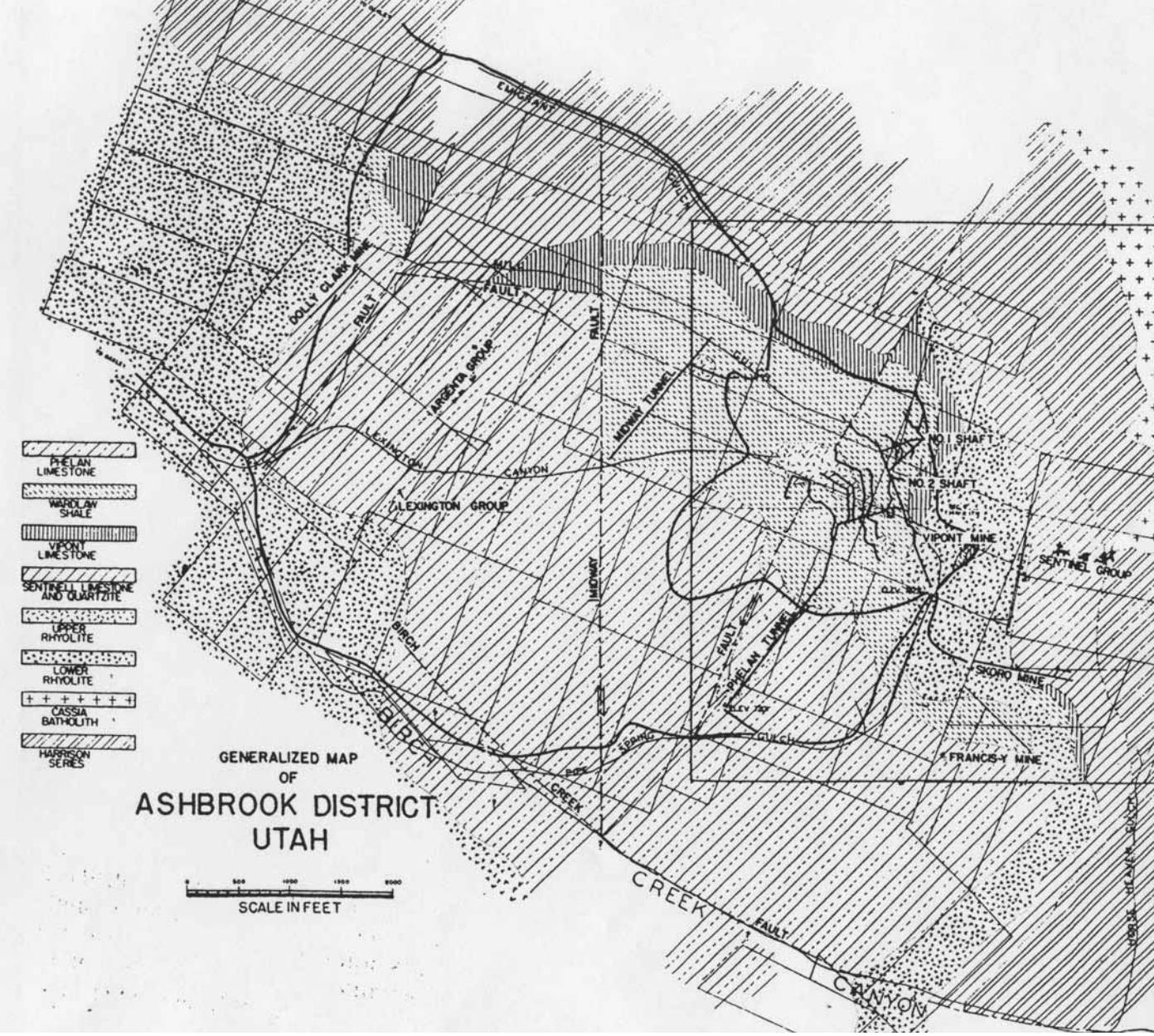
Modern methods and equipment were utilized. At first, one hundred horsepower engines generated electricity until the power line was built from Oakley to Vipont in 1921. The installation of hydroelectric power and lights, telephones, air drills, aerial tramway, and flotation at the mill ushered

[15] *The Salt Lake Mining Review*, January 15, 1921,38.

[16] Wayne R. Boothe, "A History of the Latter Day Saint Settlement of Oakley, Idaho" (Master's Thesis Brigham Young University, 1963), 110.

[17] Utah Mining Association, *Utah's Mining Industry, An Historical Operational and Economic Review of Utah's Mining Industry* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 27.

[18] "The highest yield of silver ore in Box Elder County (recognizing Ashbrook District was acknowledged as producing 92.4 percent of the county's yield) up until The Vipont Silver Mining Company took over, was a total of 247,600 ounces mined between 1870 and 1910, another cumulative total of 67,700 ounces between 1911 and 1919, then a jump to 2,286,333 ounces during its boom years 1920 through 1923." Doelling, Resources *of Box Elder County, Utah*, 87.



UTAH DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES, DIVISION OF OIL, GAS AND MINING

Ashbrook Mining District showing Vipont Mine, and the Phelan Tunnel.

in a new era for the district.[19] However, mining still had its dangers, and in January 1920 a worker died from gas inside the mine.[20]

A 4,200-foot long tramway was built from the Vipont Mine down the steep mountain front to the new concentrating mill. The ore had to be hauled by mules to the surface of the mine, seven cars to the trip, and dumped into the head terminal of the tramway, where it was crushed before going to the mill. The aerial tramway was a continuous-load high service affair, which carried twenty-seven buckets and was driven by a fifteen horsepower motor. But it was not without its problems. In January 1920 a run-away loaded ore bucket came zooming down the tram cable, gaining speed every foot. At the entrance to the tram station it

[19] *The Salt Lake Mining Review,* July 15, 1921,12.
[20] *The Oakley Herald,* January 16, 1920.

crashed into another loaded bucket, exploding like a small powder magazine. The unloading station attendant said, "It looked like a torpedo coming at the ship, and nowhere to jump but space."[21] Fortunately no one was injured, but the tramway was cumbersome, and the crew worked diligently to dig a more efficient tunnel, known as the Phelan adit.[22] Driving of the tunnel was greatly impeded by soft shale formations and occasional cave-ins.

Nevertheless, good progress was made. Plans called for driving the tunnel two thousand feet from the portal then boring north with two hundred feet of drifting and crosscutting to connect with the incline shaft being sunk on the vein from the "A" level of the upper workings. Completion of this tunnel would give greater depth on the ore deposits and also facilitate draining and transportation and eliminate the necessity of hoisting. By early spring 1921, the tunnel was thirteen hundred feet from the portal and in October 1922 the twenty-two hundred foot tunnel was completed.

The mill was situated at the bottom of the hill, 4,000 feet west of the mine workings. By June 1921 the mine and mill employed a total of 150 men and were mining and milling 150 tons of ore per day.[23] Upon the completion of the tunnel in October 1922, and by making some minor changes in the mill equipment, the company was able to increase its milling capacity to 250 tons daily.[24]

For these few years Vipont enjoyed unprecedented growth. Oakley leaders were delighted with the mining activity as Vipont's growth also caused Oakley to grow to its largest population with numerous stores and two banks.[25] By November 1920 enthusiastic reports in *The Oakley Herald* indicated Oakley's excitement at becoming a center of the mining industry as activity progressed in the various near-by mines, such as the Vipont, the Idaho-Utah, the Skoro, and the Idaho Silver. Certainly the most noted of these mines was the Vipont with its attendant "city" namesake described as "a prosperous, electric-lighted little city producing over a million dollars' worth of metal a year."[26]

As progressive as Vipont was, it appears to have been overlooked by both Utah and Idaho in the 1920 census. The citizens of Vipont, however, wanted community recognition, and by February 1921 it was reported in *The Oakley Herald*, "Vipont is becoming quite a city, and no doubt when Oakley and Burley men stop at hotels in Salt Lake, Paris or Portland, they will register as from Vipont so the world will know they came from some place!"[27]

[21] Ibid. January 23, 1920.

[22] George A. Thompson, *Some Dreams Die: Utah's ghost towns and lost treasures* (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1982), 159.

[23] *The Salt Lake Mining Review,* July 15, 1921, 12.

[24] Ibid., October 30, 1922, 24.

[25] Bessie M. Schrontz and Robert S. Wright, *Oakley Idaho: Pioneer Town* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1987), 101.

[26] *The Oakley Herald*, November 19, 1920.

[27] Ibid., February 18, 1921.

In the summer of 1922 a voting precinct was set up in Vipont. Even though Vipont was more closely associated with Oakley, Idaho, than with any Utah town, voting districts were established, and Vipont was included in the Utah election returns from Box Elder County. Fifty-three residents cast ballots, with approximately 60 percent voting for the Republican candidates and 40 percent voting on the Democratic ticket. Box Elder County as a whole voted 73 percent Republican and 27 percent Democratic. Oakley, also, voted a Republican majority.[28] That year J. Newell Dayley, an Oakley pioneer, was named Vipont's only constable.

Travel to Vipont on the dirt roads was greatly impeded by the weather and there was little interchange with Oakley from the onset of winter until spring. Ore had to be stockpiled for delivery when roads were passable. During light winters, Vipont news appeared in the *Oakley Herald* once or twice in November, then perhaps again in February or March. During a heavy winter snow fall there could be an absence of the Vipont news from November until May. Finally, in August 1922, businessmen in Oakley held a meeting wherein a committee was appointed to secure funds for improving the Birch Creek Road between Oakley and Vipont to accommodate travel in both summer and winter.[29]

The employees of Vipont did well financially. In the spring of 1923 it was reported that Vipont had a larger payroll than any other precinct in the county — $142,750 per month. More than three hundred men were employed, the smallest wage being $4.50 per day.[30] The *Oakley Herald* optimistically projected Vipont's growth from a crew of 300 men to 600 men and a total population expansion from 500 to 1,500 within a year.[31]

Oakley and Burley realized major benefits from Vipont's existence because all the ore shipped out and the supplies shipped into the camp went and came by way of the two towns. The Oakley bank held the deposits and sent payroll to the approximately three hundred workers at the mine. This large payroll proved a temptation to two individuals in July 1922. At Fish Creek, about ten miles from Oakley, two gunnysack-hooded and armed men, Henry Workman and Earl Posey, from Burley, held up Wallace Hale, his two sons, and a passenger. The robbers were after the $2,500 Vipont payroll, but they had miscalculated, as the payroll was not shipped that day because the Oakley bank was closed for the community's Pioneer Day celebration. Their take amounted to only nine dollars stolen from the driver and his passengers. After a week-long investigation, the two men were apprehended and eventually sent to Leavenworth Federal Prison in Kansas for robbing the mails and threatening the life of the driver.[32]

[28] *The Box Elder News*, November 9, 1922.

[29] *The Oakley Herald*, August 4, 1922. The committee of businessmen from Oakley included S. P. Worthington, John McMurray, C. A. Bauer, J. Y. Haight, M. T. Woodhouse, and Abe Critchfield.

[30] Forsgren, ed., *History of Box Elder County 1851-1931*, 137.

[31] *The Oakley Herald*, August 4, 1922.

[32] Ibid., October 6, 1922.

In 1919 and 1920 the Vipont miners were impatient for free time activities. Miners lamented that with nothing to occupy them between working hours they got so miserable and grouchy that their own shadows refused to follow them. They weren't much happier about available activities in Oakley, where it was said that it was very quiet, with absolutely nothing doing but a relief society meeting occasionally.[33] But both Oakley and Vipont saw exciting developments from 1920 through 1923. Vipont ultimately enjoyed a dance hall featuring its own orchestra, two pool halls, movies, (which were shown weekly in the pool halls,) two boarding houses, a community baseball team, a library, a one-room schoolhouse for grades one through eight, a barbershop, a large camp with two rows of bunk houses, a bath house, the Vipont Laundry, two cookhouses capable of feeding 185 men, and construction of a number of single-family dwellings. After the arrival of hydroelectric electricity Wilcox and Fairchild, the owners of the dance hall, installed an electric player piano that could play all kinds of music from jazz to the latest "Oakley shimmy."[34] As progressive as Vipont was becoming, on paydays it still appeared as a ghost town with the miners pouring down to the Idaho towns of Oakley, Burley, and Rupert to spend their hard-earned dollars.

COURTESY ANN MILLER, GRANDAUGHTER OF FRANK WARDLAW, JR.

Frank A. Wardlaw, Jr., about the time he began work in Vipont. Wardlaw as mine superintendent is credited for much of the success of the Vipont mine.

The post office was reestablished on June 24, 1920.[35] By 1922 Vipont had long distance telephone connections and stage service tri-weekly to Oakley, Idaho, with a fare of three dollars per person. The *Utah State Gazetteer Business Directory* listed Hale & Tuttle – General Merchandise, E. R. Tuttle, Postmaster, B. A. Price, Physician, and C. W. Ryan – Billiards and Confectioner, and indicated that the town had a branch of the L.D.S. church.[36] A Sunday School was organized, with Will Whitehead as superintendent, sixteen year old Claud Bird as first assistant and fifteen year old Orville Whitehead as second assistant, with approximately thirty individuals in attendance.[37] The *Oakley Herald* added Charlie Williams, a blacksmith,

[33] Ibid., November 26, 1920.
[34] Kent Hale conversation, March 27, 2002.
[35] Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County,* 411.
[36] R. L. Polk & Co, *1922-1923 Utah State Gazetteer & Business Directory, Buyers Guide,* Vol. IX, 1922.
[37] William Orville Whitehead, personal journal, in the possession of the author, 5.

COURTESY DONALD WHITEHEAD

The Vipont Mill, completed in 1920, processed 250 tons of ore daily.

and Jim Osborne, a bartender at the Wilcox and Fairchild establishment.[38] The Vipont Café was reputed to serve excellent food. It offered meals of plain steak, hamburger steak, ham and eggs, and three eggs for twenty-five cents while a sirloin steak meal or Sunday dinner was thirty-five cents and no extra charge for drinks.

Many Idaho residents were involved in Vipont town's expansion. Several members of the Hale family from Oakley were instrumental in building up Vipont, including Edward H. Hale who ran the Gem Cash Grocery in Oakley, and provided the supplies for Vipont's "General Merchandise" in which he partnered with a brother-in-law, Ed Tuttle.[39] Edward and Rachael Hale Tuttle managed the store. Ed Tuttle also served as postmaster. Other Hale family members, Archie and Otela Hale, relocated to Vipont where Archie worked for the two Edwards as a clerk. Wallace Hale, another family member, remained in Oakley where he carried mail from Oakley to Vipont. Many other Oakley residents worked as freighters. Venice Critchfield Williams, a resident of Oakley at that time, wrote in a history of her father, Lewis Robert Critchfield, that he made the trip between Oakley and Vipont twice a week with his two wagons and four horses "… carrying supplies to the mine and hauling silver concentrates back to the railroads…. For the year's work he estimated that he averaged ten dollars a day, which was exceptionally good wages then. The roads would get terribly muddy in the spring of the year, but only once did he ever get stuck and have to leave his wagon. This was because of a balky horse, which simply lay down in the deep mud."[40]

Ralph Poulton recalls that his father ran the pool hall in Oakley where a constant string of Vipont miners, many of them from Oakley, came and went. Among them were five Anderson brothers, three married with families—Arthur, Chet, and Jim—and two bachelor brothers, Delano and Parley. Gene McMurray and his family also moved there, where Gene, an

[38] *The Oakley Herald*, June 2, 1920.

[39] Ellsworth Hale, interview with author September 9, 2002. Ellsworth Hale was the son of Edward H. Hale.

[40] Correspondence to the author from Suzanne Critchfield, Oakley, Idaho, November 13, 2001.

COURTESY DONALD WHITEHEAD

The early A-level Vipont mining camp, about 1919 or 1920. Tent cabins provided temporary housing for some of the miners.

expert in handling explosives, worked as a "powder monkey."[41]

In the fall of 1920 Joseph William Whitehead (known as Will) moved to Vipont from Almo, Idaho, and began working at the mine. In the spring of 1921, at the conclusion of the school year his wife, Alzina Whitehead, and eight of their nine children, ranging from one to twenty-two years in age, joined him. Through a real estate scam they had lost their life's savings and sought a new start. While living in Salt Lake City, Will had become acquainted with Frank Wardlaw, the mine superintendent, and was hired to help dig the mine tunnel. As the number of mine employees grew, Alzina and Will saw a business opportunity and converted their home, which was built out of railroad ties set up on blocks, into an additional boarding house where they served four meals daily—breakfast, lunch, dinner and a midnight meal—for as many as thirty-five men. They removed interior walls and partitions and built one large dining room. They also took in laundry. For their own living accommodations they added a tent house to the back of their main house with tie walls part way up and canvas upper walls and roof. The tent house was divided into rooms by hanging quilts on ropes. Alzina wrote in her journal, "We did fine financially at Vipont, clearing from $200 to $300 a month from the proceeds of Will's work and the boarding house. We built and paid for our boarding house ($1,200) and invested $2,800 by purchasing

[41] Conversation by telephone with Ralph Poulton of Oakley, Idaho, March 27, 2002.

COURTESY DONALD WHITEHEAD

Vipont Boarding House owned and operated by Will and Alzina Whitehead. Alzina (left) and unidentified person standing in front of boarding house.

89,000 shares of the Capitol stock of the near-by Lucky Guys mine (where Will served as secretary-treasurer). We worked hard, but felt the end results would be worthwhile."[42]

At least two other members of the Whitehead family felt it was worthwhile to move to Vipont. In August 1922 Venola Whitehead, not quite twenty years of age, met a handsome young widower, Franklin Dennis Farnsworth, age thirty-five, from Beaver, Utah. He had recently signed on as a miner, lived at the bunkhouse, and then became a boarder at their Whitehead Boarding House. After a brief courtship, wherein they enjoyed horseback riding, dancing, hiking, and attending local entertainment, the two became engaged. Even Venola's discovery that Dennis had seven young children who were temporarily living with relatives didn't discourage her, and in January 1923 the two left Vipont, caught a ride down to Oakley, took a train ride to Salt Lake City where they were married, and then retrieved his children.[43]

Shortly after Venola and Dennis left for Salt Lake City, Venola's younger sister, Delma, nearly eighteen years of age, met a young man, twenty-four year old William Boyce Lake. Bill had recently moved to Vipont from Emmett, Idaho, to help his sister and brother-in-law, Cora and Jim Haynes, and their three children, run the Haynes Boarding House and Laundry Service, the other boarding house in Vipont not far from the Whitehead Boarding House. Cora was known for her wonderful pies and had to "keep her eyes open" because the Vipont bookkeepers loved to "steal' her delicious pies. But there was still time for fun, and Delma and Bill courted throughout the spring and summer of 1923, and were married August 4, 1923, in Twin Falls, Idaho.[44]

Donald Whitehead, a boy in the early 1920s, remembered that there was much work to be done and each family member had to carry his or her load. He and his older brother Orville kept the woodbin filled and took turns building the fire in the large cook stove each morning. One night Don decided to prepare the kindling in the stove before he went to bed so he wouldn't have to get up quite so early. Unfortunately he didn't check carefully, and there were a few live embers remaining in the stove that night. When Don arose the next morning he discovered all his kindling wood had

[42] "A Life History of Alzina Elizabeth Stewart Whitehead," 5, in possession of author.
[43] The author is the daughter of Franklin and Venola Farnsworth.
[44] Telephone conversations with Eldon Lake and Lorraine Johnson March 30, 1992.

burned during the night, so instead of a quick strike of a match he had to go outside on a cold winter morning to gather more kindling.

He recalls that he and Orville rode their horses over Granite Pass along the old California Trail to Almo, Idaho, to get supplies for their boarding house. Because of the large amount of food required to feed so many boarders, Alzina had a large cellar built into the hillside to store perishables. They had some sheep and cows in Almo and would slaughter the animals for meat as needed. One chore Don and Orville didn't mind was going fishing to provide fresh fish for their boarders. They also had the responsibility of filling large milk cans with culinary water from Birch Creek high up on the mountainside where the water was cleaner, and hauling the cans down to their home. The stream nearer their home provided water for washing.

COURTESY DONALD WHITEHEAD

Donald Whitehead enjoyed providing fish for meals at his boarding house.

Don also remembers that he was hired to take mail to Tom Sherry who had a mine about ten miles to the east. Sherry offered Don a thousand shares in his mine for his mail delivery. He also has fond memories of the Friday night silent movies at the mill, where the exciting actions of the movie stars would be shown on the screen followed by the printed dialogue.[45]

The Vipont School, School # 50, was located in Zone IV of the Box Elder School District, 132 miles from Brigham City, the county seat.[46] The one-room school was located near the mill about a mile from the mines. Orville Whitehead wrote, "I forget how many were in the whole school, but there was one student (Lila Bird) in the 6th grade. I was in the 7th grade, and Claud Bird and Uva Tolman were in the 8th grade. Our teacher, Miss Bird was young, about twenty or twenty-one years old, and we really loved her and we had a lot of fun."[47]

In describing one Christmas that he would not soon forget, Orville Whitehead wrote:

> I was playing Santa Claus with cotton all over my face and sleeves. We didn't have electric lights then, but had lighted candles on the tree. The presents for the kids were on the tree. I was reaching over one of the lighted candles to get one of the presents when the cotton on my sleeve got too close to a candle and I caught fire. In just seconds I was a ball of fire. The teacher ran to the door and screamed for help. There were two men chopping wood for the school, and they ran to the door. One of the men had a coat on. He took off his coat, threw it over my head and face, and the two men carried

[45] Donald Whitehead, personal interview with the author, November 9, 2001.
[46] *The Box Elder News, Semi-Weekly,* March 6, 1923.
[47] William Orville Whitehead, personal journal, 5.

me outside and with a lot of snow, soon had the fire out. I was burned pretty badly though, and I didn't have much fun that Christmas vacation.[48]

On another occasion the snow that had helped rescue Orville became a life-threatening danger to Donald, who recalled:

One day in early spring, it had been storming really hard, but finally stopped. However, it looked like it could start again at any time, so the teacher let us out of school early so we could get home before it stormed again. We were in three groups as we passed through a place where the mountain was steep on both sides with only room for a road and stream at the bottom. Several of us were ahead, two girls in the center, and the rest were a little ways back of them, covering a space of about one city block. We were all happy about getting out early, and were yelling back and forth and having a good time. All of a sudden we heard a big crashing sound. I looked back and saw the whole mountainside moving. It was an avalanche! It looked to us like all those behind us would be buried in the snow. The ones in the back thought we had all been covered, and of course we were sure that the two girls in the center were under the snow. As it happened, we, in front, were just a few feet in front of it, and the ones in the back were just a few feet behind it, and the two girls in the middle were under a large rock which split the snow, so we were all safe. We all started running to the mine to tell others about it when we met several men running towards us, as they had heard the crash and suspected what had happened. We all felt very fortunate to have come out of the experience with no one getting hurt. The canyon was filled with snow all summer, and a new road had to be made on the opposite side of the canyon so freight wagons could get through.[49]

During Vipont's boom years 1920 through 1923 this bustling community had its own reporter for the *Oakley Herald*. The column, "VIPONT NEWS"—written by an alias, shown only as "The Kitten"—was printed and delivered weekly, (weather and roads permitting) making it possible for local residents to enjoy reading about their own local news and events.

Vipont, typical of fast growing mining towns, had housing problems. The usual "Ragtown" of makeshift shelters blossomed while more permanent shelters were being constructed. The Vipont management made every attempt to provide adequate dormitories for the influx of workers, but could not keep up with demand. An article in the *Oakley Herald* of May 26, 1922, recorded, "The sound of hammers and saws can be heard in this neighborhood from the time the 4:30 whistle blows until long after dark. Most of the 15 houses being constructed are located on the New Twin Peaks highway, Vipont to Oakley…. The residence, which Mr. Hess has had under construction for the past three months, is now completed and his wife has arrived; another happy family is added to our fast growing community."[50]

Vipont's community spirit was high and residents were extremely proud of the baseball team, known as the Vipont Highgraders. The community held a fundraiser for their team and raised about $200 for uniforms and

[48] Ibid.
[49] Donald Whitehead interview.
[50] *The Oakley Herald*, May 26, 1922.

COURTESY ANN MILLER, GRANDAUGHTER OF FRANK WARDLAW, JR.

Growth of Vipont as seen in this panoramic photograph.

equipment. The team competed with neighboring Idaho community teams such as Almo, Oakley, and Churchill. However, there is no evidence the team played against any Utah teams. Baseball in Vipont could be an adventure for visiting teams. On one occasion, "The Almo baseball team came to Vipont Saturday and played the Vipont Highgraders a good fast game. But luck was against the visiting team, and Vipont walked away with the honors, the score standing 5 to 1 in favor of the Highgraders. The Almo team was somewhat handicapped, owing to the high altitude and sagebrush, while the Highgraders are accustomed to dodging around in the brush."[51]

Nearly every community had a big annual celebration and for Vipont it was Fourth of July. All-day celebrations included such events as double jack drilling, the greased pole contest, a mucking contest, tug of war, shot put, bucking, and a nail driving contest. All kinds of races were held including an egg relay race, three legged race, sack race, fat men's race, lean men's race, and horse racing. The local baseball game against one of their neighboring communities followed by an evening dance were the highlights of the celebration.[52] In 1922 the fifteen-man Burley municipal band provided music.

Donald Whitehead recalls that his mother used to make ice cream and sell it at the Fourth of July celebration. He and his brother Orville would ride their horses into the higher mountains, where there were pockets of snow year round, and bring back snow to pack around the ice cream freezer.[53] The full day included picnicking and, in the evening, fireworks, a movie, and a dance.[54]

Another July celebration was the "big stampede" when several cowboys from nearby Goose Creek brought a small band of horses and participants showed their skills at roping and riding bucking horses. To round out the celebration residents enjoyed baseball and other games. Some summer evenings residents met at "Phelan Park" where they enjoyed food, fun,

[51] Ibid., June 24, 1921.
[52] Ibid., July 15, 1921.
[53] Donald Whitehead interview.
[54] *The Oakley Herald*, July 9, 1920.

wrestling, games, and open air dancing. A large bonfire was built and stories, songs and readings made a good finish to the evening.[55]

These social activities reflected the mining prosperity of the times. In May 1923 the *Salt Lake Mining Review* recorded, "during the month of May, the company will market about 200,000 ounces, 50,000 ounces of which will be derived from ore and concentrates stored during the spring 'break-up.' At present the company is employing 325 men. Because of the excellent treatment accorded employees, labor turnover is exceedingly small."[56]

While everything appeared rosy to the residents and owners of Vipont, doomsday would shortly arrive as undesirable provisions of the Pittman Act were implemented. The great growth of the silver industry from 1919 to 1923 can be directly attributed to the Pittman Act, enacted by the United States Congress on April 23, 1918. The act provided for the recall of up to 350 million silver dollars which were to be melted down and the silver exported to India and the Orient as credit against the balance of payments owed by the United States, England, and other allies. The silver dollars were to be replaced by Federal Reserve bank notes, which would subsequently be withdrawn from circulation and replaced by newly minted silver dollars—the silver to be acquired from domestic producers at not less than one dollar an ounce.[57]

This bill, introduced by Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, was intended to be only a temporary measure but one that would benefit silver-mining interests in the United States.[58]

Under the Pittman Act the United States government melted more than 270 million silver dollars amounting to nearly half the U.S. Mint's entire production of standard silver dollars to that time. However, the loss was no particular blow to the nation's commerce. Silver dollars saw only limited use, and remaining inventories were more than sufficient to meet demands. Even so, while the Mint really had no need to strike new silver dollars as replacements for the ones that had been melted down, the Pittman Act required it to do so. Thus, in 1921, after the price of silver had fallen from postwar highs, the Mint started cranking out the required replacement dollars. The end of the Pittman Act was in sight.

Timing had been everything. The Pittman Act, with its guarantee of $1.00 per ounce for silver, had been enacted April 23, 1918. In July 1918, Phillips purchased a lease and bond on Vipont and shortly thereafter the Channing brothers purchased the Vipont. Did the Channing brothers know about the Pittman Act and the guarantee? It is almost certain they must

[55] Ibid., June 2, 1920, and July 29, 1921. Both the tunnel (Phelan adit) and the park (Phelan park) appear to be named after a Mr. Phelan. The only reference found to Mr. Phelan is "Mr. Phelan is a Vipont citizen, arriving this week from Salt Lake City," recorded in *The Oakley Herald*, June 2, 1920.

[56] *The Salt Lake Mining Review*, May 30, 1923, 21.

[57] James Truslow Adams, *Dictionary of American History*, rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), 5: 321.

[58] *The Deseret Evening News*, April 17, 1918.

have known. Did they realize it was only a temporary act? It would not appear so. Together with the guaranteed $1.00 per ounce for silver and a new organization and management at the mine, Vipont's boom was on.

Then the sudden death knell sounded for Vipont. On August 1, 1923, buying of silver under the Pittman Act ceased, and the price of silver plummeted from $1.00 to $0.64 per ounce. There had only been a narrow margin of profit with the Pittman Act in place, and, after the drop in the price for silver, company officials were unable to meet operating expenses and issued orders to close down operations by September 1, 1923.[59]

The closure of the mine was abrupt, unexpected, and staggering for all involved. Vipont citizens salvaged what they could, boarded up what they couldn't, and left. Donald Whitehead recalls: "We had planned on staying there another two years, then selling our boarding house and mining stock and move back to the Salt Lake valley. Everything was going fine. Then all at once the mines closed down. Everyone was surprised. We just had to nail our boarding house up and move."[60]

It was a shocking and sad time. The Fennel and Gorringe Stage made three or four trips daily bringing people and their belongings down to Oakley for connections to various parts of the country.[61] Edward Tuttle closed up the Hale family owned store and moved the remaining inventory back to his brother-in-law Ed Hale's store, the Gem Cash Grocery Store, in Oakley. The Vipont Post Office closed its doors permanently on October 11, 1923.[62]

Vipont's closure greatly affected the town of Oakley. The citizens of Oakley did not believe the Vipont mine was closed permanently and the *Oakley Herald* reported in August 1923 that it expected Vipont to open again as there was still a mountain of ore awaiting the change of the market.[63] In November 1923 rumors began to fly that a New York corporation planned to buy out the interests of the Vipont Silver Mining Company, and that the mine would be running again within six weeks.[64] But the rumors were unfounded and a number of Oakley businesses failed including the Gem Cash Grocery. Oakley's population, which peaked at 2,300 residents in 1925, dropped to only 1,000 by 1930.[65]

Limited activities took place in Vipont after the closure of the mine in 1923. Only small production was maintained through 1926 and in 1929 the mining and milling machinery was sold. In 1930 the twenty-three mile-long power line that transported electricity from Oakley to Vipont was purchased by the near-by Skoro mine.[66] The Vipont operations were

[59] *The Salt Lake Mining Review*, August 15, 1923, 15.
[60] Donald Whitehead personal interview November 2001.
[61] *The Oakley Herald*, August 17, 1923.
[62] Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County*, 411.
[63] *The Oakley Herald*, August 17, 1923.
[64] Ibid., November 5, 1923.
[65] Correspondence from Kent Hale to the author, February 26, 2002.
[66] *The Oakley Herald*, January 24, 1930.

revived in 1934 and continued until 1941, then were idle from 1942 to 1966 when T. F. Miller acquired the property and did some diamond core drilling. He reported that new underground ore was discovered from the drilling, however, no silver production in Box Elder County has been reported since 1963.[67] A search of the Utah Department of Commerce, Division of Corporations records for the Vipont Mines January 15, 2001, shows only an expired license as of January 12, 1991, for the Vipont Mines, Ltd., and an expired license for the United Silver Mines, Inc., as of August 1, 1991.[68] Presently there does appear to be a flicker of life—silver is apparently still there and claims have been filed.[69] Perhaps the little town of Vipont may one day make a comeback.

Today there is little, if any activity, except for grazing cattle. Access is restricted with dilapidated fencing and gates and "No Trespassing" signs are posted. There is little evidence of the bustling mining town of Vipont in the early 1920s. The mine and mill are in ruins, and all evidence of any housing has long since vanished. But as you stand quietly by the ruins of the mine portal and listen to the silence, you can almost hear the piercing whistle and envision the miners changing shifts, each carrying his lunch pail.

[67] Shrontz and Wright, *Oakley Idaho: Pioneer Town*,. 101,102. See also Doelling, *Resources of Box Elder County*, 145.

[68] Utah Division of Corporations, entity Numbers 2101193-0180 and 632809-0142.

[69] Christopher Davenport interview with author, September 26, 2002.

"When the People Speak:" Mormons and the 1954 Redistricting Campaign in Utah

By JEDEDIAH SMART ROGERS

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Coming into the November 1954 general elections in Utah, two issues—both in the form of a referendum—overshadowed all others in political implication and controversy: legislative reapportionment and the transfer of state junior colleges back to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons).[1] The evolution of these two referenda would have close parallels, as LDS church leaders would be accused of using their sizeable influence to support both. David O. McKay, Mormon church president, denied any official church backing of the issues, particularly in regard to legislative reapportionment, though he admitted his personal support for the transfer of the colleges. Some claim, however, that McKay secretly directed and supported a whispering campaign in favor of the reapportionment

Utah Governor J. Bracken Lee supported reapportionment plan.

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[1] This study incorporates new information on the 1954 campaign, including interviews and the office diary of David O. McKay. The best existing literature on the campaign include Kenneth Holmes Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," (Master's Thesis, University of Utah, 1960) and Frank H. Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 46, part 1 (1969): 11-26.

proposal, and they point to the overt political activism of several general authorities and local church leaders as evidence.[2]

Whether McKay supported reapportionment or not, he did allow a few church authorities to make all-out attempts to win passage of the measure, which would constitutionally change the makeup of the state legislature. Despite LDS leaders direct foray into the reapportionment battle, however, Utahns overwhelmingly rejected the measure—defeating it by a two-to-one ratio. During the intense and sometimes bitter campaign, Henry D. Moyle, Mormon apostle and ardent Democrat, had campaigned in favor of the proposed reapportionment amendment.[3] Given his intense support of the measure, one can sense a bit of resentment in the assessment he made two months after the election in January 1955 in a letter to Eugene H. Merrill, "…when the people speak, even though they may be swayed one way or the other by propaganda . . . it is pretty safe to follow the rule [people]. I hope that I always remain about as far away from any ideas of totalitarianism as is possible. I firmly believe that there is real safety in numbers."[4] Despite this statement, Moyle, along with others who had labored beside him throughout the political battle, must have been disappointed to suffer a political defeat at the hands of the predominantly Mormon voters.

The 1954 reapportionment campaign brought to the forefront the long-standing rural-urban dispute in Utah. Drafted in 1895, the Utah Constitution established the principle of House representation by population and provided for district revision every ten years to adjust for population fluctuation. Between 1905 and 1954, however, Utah's voting districts had been altered only twice, a situation Jerome K. Full called a regular violation of the Utah Constitution.[5] By 1954 the composition of the legislature did not accurately reflect Utah's demographic distribution—grossly under-representing the urban voice, particularly since its expansion during World War II.

Governor J. Bracken Lee urged the legislature to make reapportionment a priority in 1951 and again in 1953. Using the 1950 census as a guide and following model systems implemented in Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, Montana, New Jersey, and South Carolina, conservative, mostly rural state legislators led by Senator Alonzo F. Hopkin of Rich County proposed a reapportionment plan in the form of a constitutional amendment that would perpetuate the imbalance in rural and urban representation. While representation in both legislative bodies traditionally had been based on population, the resolution proposed to mirror the federal system, with

[2] D. Michael Quinn particularly makes these claims. See Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 361-62; Quinn, *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 272-73.

[3] Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 6; and M.R. Merrill, ed., "The 1954 Elections in the Eleven Western States," *The Western Political Quarterly* 7, (December 1954): 628.

[4] Richard D. Poll, *Working the Divine Miracle: The Life of Apostle Henry D. Moyle*, ed. Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 125.

[5] *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 13, 1959; quoted in Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," *Politics in the American West*, ed. Frank H. Jonas (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), 369.

equal representation for all counties in the Senate and representation in the House according to population. The number of state senators would increase from twenty-three to twenty-nine, one for each county; House seats would increase from sixty to seventy-five. Under the plan, Utah's urban strongholds would not only fail to gain the Senate seats their expanded population would have normally entitled them to under the original constitution, but they would lose seats as well. While both Weber and Utah counties would each lose one seat in the Senate, Salt Lake County would be hardest hit, losing six seats—from seven to one. Daggett County, with a population of only 362, on the other hand, would also receive one Senate seat.

In part because of the potential for a magnified urban-rural imbalance, this joint House resolution swept through both the Senate and the House in early 1953. On February 17, 1953, the Thirtieth Legislature—predominantly Mormon—passed the rural reapportionment plan, House General Resolution number 5 [HGR #5], with forty-five House members in support, eleven in opposition, and four absent. In the Senate, sixteen members sustained the plan, while only seven opposed it.[6] The Utah Secretary of State, Lamont F. Toronto, approved the bill to take the form of a referendum in the next general election.

It is unclear how much of a role the Mormon church actively played in creation of the resolution, nor the motivation of the legislators who pushed the measure through. Both houses evidently aimed to enhance rural power within the state political context. Moreover, as rural counties were bastions of mostly conservative, Mormon populations, it quickly became apparent to a few LDS apostles and local church leaders that the amendment would secure Mormon control of Utah politics. Many foresaw, in fact, a time when Mormons—specifically rural conservatives—would be the minority and "gentiles" would control Utah politics. With the development of war-related industries and the large influx of non-Mormon laborers in Utah, some Mormons feared the day when, as one LDS stake president put it, "the LDS would be driven out of the state by outside interests."[7] It appears that for a time the ideas of these more conservative Mormon leaders won out; the Political Affairs Committee of the Mormon church organized an active campaign in support of the amendment.

Since the 1930s, with the defeat in Utah of First Presidency-endorsed

[6] *House Journal*, February 17, 1953, Day 37; See Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," 13–17. This article, the work of dozens of personal letters to general authorities, stake presidents, bishops, and ward members inquiring about church involvement in the issue, breaks down the legislators according to religious and political affiliation. Jonas found that twenty-two of the twenty-three state senators were Mormon, as were fifty-seven of the sixty house members. Many of these were leaders in the Mormon church. In the Senate, fifteen were Republicans and eight were Democrats; thirty-nine Republicans and twenty-one Democrats comprised the House.

[7] Frank H. Jonas phone call with Victor Peterson, October 29, 1954, Folder 18, Box 137, Frank H. Jonas Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah [hereafter cited as Jonas Papers].

presidential candidate Alfred Landon, Mormon leaders began to recognize that open, public campaigns were less effective than discrete, inside maneuverings within the system. The choice of tactics seemed to be the controlling factor of church success at the voting polls, and church officials took notice.[8] Supported by the First Presidencies of both George Albert Smith and David O. McKay, the Mormon church in the early 1940s began a pattern to coordinate Mormon political interests with the chairpersons of the state Republican and Democratic parties. J. Reuben Clark, a counselor in the LDS First Presidency, began early in 1951 to coordinate an "extensive lobbying effort in the Utah legislature."[9] Apostles Henry D. Moyle and Harold B. Lee coordinated with the state party chairpersons of their respective parties—Moyle on the Democratic side and Lee on the Republican. In 1952 Moyle and Lee also actively pushed a "wake-up-the-voters" campaign through the encouragement of Mormon attendance at party conventions and district mass meetings.

The efforts of the Political Affairs Committee resulted in successes during this period. Following an April 1952 General Conference address in which he called for "good government" and "good leaders" and encouraged Mormon attendance at district mass meetings, Moyle noted in his diary, "The Lord was with me and prompted me to speak rather than read what I had prepared."[10] Mormon activity in the electoral process and the administration of state and local laws—including messages read in stake, ward, and branch meetings—contributed to high voter turnout in Utah. Furthermore, many local church leaders were elected, as nearly 95 percent of the officeholders in the state in 1953 were Mormon.[11]

No doubt encouraged by the success of the 1952 elections, on March 12, 1953, McKay encouraged Moyle and Lee "to continue to guide things for the next election, keeping the brethren informed."[12] Although McKay apparently made no mention of the reapportionment amendment, it became clear to opponents of the measure early on that some Mormon leaders would support the amendment. Sometime in November 1953, a concerned Milton L. Weilenmann, Chairman of the State Democratic Committee, requested an appointment with McKay to discuss the official church stance on the issue. When the two met on November 23, 1953, Weilenmann warned McKay of the unbalanced representation that would result from the passage of HGR #5. In reply, McKay reportedly told him: "We would have disapproved of a majority church in Missouri doing this

[8] See Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," 337-38; Poll, *Henry D. Moyle*, 121.

[9] Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark*, 272. Quinn notes that since the early 1940s Clark had established this pattern of political activism by general authorities.

[10] Henry D. Moyle, *Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1952; Poll, *Henry D. Moyle*, 123.

[11] Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," 334; Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," 13; Poll, *Henry D. Moyle*, 122-123.

[12] David O. McKay Office Journal, March 12, 1953, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

to us and I don't see that the principle has changed because we are in the majority out here. Furthermore, fourteen of the General Authorities may have agreed to Church-backing of the rural reapportionment amendment, but not fifteen—I was out of town when it was decided upon."[13]

Just when the fourteen general authorities made the decision to support the reapportionment measure is unknown, though at least by November 1953, Moyle and Lee were already engaged in disseminating church support of the issue to individual legislators. McKay's office journal states nothing regarding the decision made in the absence of McKay to support the amendment. The journal merely reports that McKay decided to "take the matter under consideration and have another discussion with him [Weilenmann] next Wednesday morning."[14] But in a meeting of the First Presidency the next day, November 24, they agreed that the church would not take a position on the issue and aimed to dispel perceptions that they had. "If there are any who feel we have taken a position, they should be corrected," the First Presidency established.[15]

It is not surprising that Weilenmann approached McKay, not only because the president had final authority on LDS church matters, but because of his apparent neutral stance on many issues, particularly in comparison to Clark, Moyle, and other more politically active general authorities. In an earlier General Conference address in April 1952, McKay emphasized that the church would not favor "either political party" in the 1952 general elections.[16] While similar statements had not been pronounced regarding church neutrality in the 1954 elections, Weilenmann eagerly anticipated a declaration of church impartiality. He returned to the president's office for a second time on November 26—Thanksgiving Day—this time with four others in attendance: two members of the Utah House of Representatives and proponents of rural control in the Senate, Wilby W. Young and Lee W. Daleabout, and two opponents, J. D. Williams and David Turner. Williams recorded the questions and responses as they focused on the reapportionment issue and church involvement with the state's political affairs:

> "President McKay, as an Elder's President and a faithful member of the Church, I find myself in a quandary when General Authorities of the Church commit the Church on political issues, in apparent violation of the ninth verse of Section 134 of the Doctrine and Covenants (which forbids intermingling of church and state)."
>
> President McKay then said, "Well, let me make this clear: The Church has not, will not

[13] J. D. Williams, interview by Kristen Smart Rogers, tape recording, May 29, 2001, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; J. D. Williams diary, November 26, 1953. Photocopy of original in J. D. Williams file. Williams recorded the proceedings of the November 23rd meeting in his diary entry for November 26 noting that he was "rudely interrupted by a phone call from Milt Weilenmann at 7:10 in the morning." It was then that Weilenmann reported to Williams the meeting of November 23rd.

[14] McKay Office Journal, November 23, 1953. The appointed meeting did not take place on Wednesday as planned, but rather on Thursday, November 26.

[15] McKay Office Journal, November 24, 1953; Williams interview.

[16] *Deseret News*, October 6, 1952.

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David O. McKay, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

take an official position on this issue. Many of the General Authorities will express vigorous opinions on this apportionment issue, but as a Church we remain neutral."

Milt Weilenmann then said, "This means that we can go out and campaign in the regular fashion." The president replied, chuckling, "That is correct, and I promise you that you will not be excommunicated for your stand."[17]

Weilenmann, Williams, and Turner came out of that conference with renewed respect for McKay and with "a feeling of real exhilaration" for his statement of neutrality.[18] McKay's apparent neutrality on the matter gave opponents—Mormon and non-Mormon alike—encouragement of victory. Thereafter, Weilenmann frequently quoted what the president had told him, namely, that any views of general authorities one way or the other were the "ideas of the individual and will not represent the official views of the Church."[19]

Interestingly, as late as May 1954, Weilenmann claimed that the Democratic Party did not officially oppose the measure, perhaps to appease the many Utah voters in favor of it.[20] But on August 14, Salt Lake Democrats adopted a platform to defeat the amendment, as they feared that equal county representation in the Senate would give too much power to rural Republicans.[21] The *Tribune* estimated that if the amendment passed, only 9 percent of the state's population would control over half of the state's twenty-nine senators.[22] Furthermore, Democrats claimed that in a bicameral legislature it would be all but impossible to revert back to the old system if the new one was found to be unsatisfactory. In a system where one of the two legislative bodies could simply block the vote of the other, Democrats feared a complete Republican usurpation of power.

Others opposed the amendment for fear of unbalanced representation

[17] Williams diary, November 26, 1953. Interestingly, no mention of this meeting is recorded in McKay's office journal. Section 134, verse 9 reads: "We do not believe it just to mingle religious influence with civil government, whereby one religious society is fostered and another proscribed in its spiritual privileges, and the individual rights of its members, as citizens, denied."

[18] Williams diary, November 26, 1953.

[19] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 4, 1954; see Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 104.

[20] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 4, 1954.

[21] Ibid., August 15, 1954.

[22] Ibid., October 17, 1954.

and perpetual dominance of the Mormon church in Utah politics. *Salt Lake Tribune* publisher and Roman Catholic lay leader, John F. Fitzpatrick, expressed sentiment shared by many who felt apprehension over the proposed amendment: "It would have given one group too much power."[23] On April 19, 1954, a bipartisan group opposed to the amendment evenly split between Democrats and Republicans formed with two state legislators, W. E. Anderson and Wendell Grover, as co-chairmen.[24] A *Tribune* poll conducted in early October revealed that those in favor of the amendment were split among parties.[25] The Citizens Against Minority Control of the Legislature and other organizations mixed strange bedfellows, as Mormons, Jews, Catholics, Masons, Protestants, labor union agents, bankers, chamber of commerce personnel, and teachers came out in opposition to the amendment.[26] Large business interests spent considerable sums of money to put down the measure, and one estimate suggested this alone was sufficient to defeat it.[27]

Because the proposal would not be put to the people until November 1954, nearly two years after it first passed in the legislature, the public took little interest on the issue until early in 1954. Quickly it became clear to the public that the outcome of the referendum could radically alter the dynamics of Utah politics and significantly affect the future of the state.[28] With increased opposition and amplified publicity of the proposal reported in Utah newspapers beginning about March 1954, the Utah legislature received pressure from the public and Governor J. Bracken Lee to draft a compromise plan.

The *Deseret News* reported on May 19, 1954, that Governor Lee would call a special session of the legislature if politicians could reach agreement on a compromise reapportionment plan. State Senator Dilworth S. Wooley believed that a small committee should be formed to work out a compromise plan, while others, like Welby W. Young, Alonzo F. Hopkin, Lee W. Daleabout, and Fred Froerer, Jr., supported the proposal as it stood and fought to block opponents' efforts to compromise. Young, for example, thought that a compromise plan would be "unnecessary unless the

[23] Quoted in Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," 369.

[24] *Deseret News*, April 19, 20, and May 18, 1954.

[25] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1954. It is interesting to note that while the Democratic Party officially came out in opposition to the amendment, opposition and support essentially split on party lines in the Salt Lake area. This poll released one month before the elections indicated that party lines did not directly dictate voter intentions toward the amendment. In fact, it showed that those who intended to vote for Democratic candidates for Congress supported the proposal more than those who intended to vote for the Republican candidate. The poll also indicated that women supported the amendment more than men, and that the college-educated were generally opposed to it.

[26] Williams interview. Williams explained how misleading this title actually was: "I can see that that name was deceptive on our part, because Mormons obviously were the majority in Salt Lake County and a huge majority in the state itself." The title of the organization suggests that opponents and organizers of the committee considered their prime opponents on this issue to be the Mormons, not the Republicans.

[27] Frank H. Jonas to Daniel S. Frost, November 18, 1954, Folder 9, Box 10, Jonas Papers.

[28] *Deseret News*, May 29, 1954.

opponents of the amendment unite and come up with a concrete alternative plan."[29]

A letter dated May 25, 1954, from Henry D. Moyle to J. Bracken Lee, in which Moyle explicitly sets forth the personal and exclusive nature of the correspondence, reveals Moyle's attitude toward the amendment. Moyle supported any plan that would give concessions to the rural counties, denigrating any compromise proposal that would simply "satisfy the Salt Lake County delegation and give to them the ultimate control of both houses of the Legislature." While many during the time complained of a legislative imbalance in rural representation, it is clear that Moyle feared urban domination and control. Apparently, Moyle considered Governor Lee determined to work out a compromise plan. Lee's response indicated that he would only call a special session if it were clear a compromise could be reached. Moreover, in the governor's opinion, the proposed plan was "too extreme"—any extreme plan, he wrote Moyle, would not be in the "interest of the people."[30]

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Salt Lake Tribune ***newspaper publisher and Roman Catholic lay leader John F. Fitzpatrick felt apprehensive over proposed reapportionment plan.***

Though Governor Lee continued to anticipate compromise, the Utah Legislature failed to draft or pass such a plan. The *Deseret News* reported Merrill K. Davis, Speaker of the House, as saying that an alternative plan would be unlikely unless "several members of the House change their minds from the way they feel now."[31] Proponents of the proposed plan may have been the principal reason a compromise plan never materialized.[32]

In the months leading up to the November elections, several LDS general authorities vigorously campaigned in favor of the proposed reapportionment plan through the "mobilization of church resources, including the press…on so energetic and open a scale."[33] Aiming for a "Mormon gain rather than a political loss for Salt Lake County," Moyle and Lee recognized that mobilization of the urban centers, particularly Salt Lake County, was essential for the proposal's success.[34] One had even expressed in private, "Brethren, don't you realize that if this proposal is

[29] Ibid., May 19, 20, and 29, 1954.

[30] Henry H. Moyle to J. Bracken Lee, May 25, 1954; Lee to Moyle, June 1, 1954; quoted in Q. Michael Croft, "Influence of the LDS Church on Utah Politics (Diss., University of Utah, 1985), 222-23.

[31] *Deseret News*, June 20, and July 6, 1954.

[32] See Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," 19.

[33] Poll, *Henry D. Moyle*, 125.

[34] Williams interview.

passed that the Church will control twenty-six of twenty-nine Senators?"[35]

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Milton L. Weilenmann, chairman, Utah Democratic Committee, during reapportionment controversy.

The official stance of Moyle, Lee, and other general authorities began to be apparent in the public domain. Church authorities encouraged the church-owned *Deseret News* editorial board to write editorials in favor of the amendment; Salt Lake City's other major newspaper, the *Tribune*, however, consistently opposed it. The volley of editorials either in support or in opposition to the amendment continued up to the day of the elections on November 2. The debate stalled for a few days beginning on September 27, presumably in order to create a spirit of bi-partisanship during General Conference; thereafter, the *Deseret News* support of the amendment resumed to a lesser degree.[36] Likewise, heated public debates became a major element of the campaign. On one "very, very tense evening" on October 20, for example, J. D. Williams, former Speaker of the House Merrill K. Davis, and Philip Olsen were pitted against Welby Young, Lee Daleabout, and Haven Barlow in a public forum. "Personal feelings, of course, got in the way of the discourse, as often happens when politicians are out of control," Williams later recalled.[37]

Sometime in October 1954, proponents released the pamphlet, *A Call for Action*, advocating the amendment because it "follows the federal constitutional plan." The pamphlet outlined the proposed measure, offered reasons for support, and responded to opponents' fears. A state system similar to the Federal system, which has "protected and enhanced the rights of Americans for 166 years," it claimed, would provide a system of "checks and balances" and curtail the power of Utah's growing urban communities. The pamphlet provided testimonies from the governors of five of the six states who by 1954 had adopted the one-senator-per-county plan. It also called those denouncing the current proposal "noisy" and "politically entrenched" in special interests, unable to come up with a suitable alternative.[38]

[35] Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy*, 361; Henry Moyle also reportedly approached Weilenmann and asked, "Milt, why are you opposing this reapportionment? Don't you realize that it will mean twenty out of twenty-nine votes for the church every time the senate meets?" See Williams interview. Democratic Chairman Milt Weilenmann met weekly for more than a decade with Moyle to discuss party politics. While Moyle "felt strongly" about many issues, Weilenmann admits that Moyle never tried to convince him to take a certain course. "He wanted us to use our free agency," said Weilenmann. Milt Weilenmann, telephone interview with the author, March 17, 2002.

[36] See Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 110.

[37] Williams interview; Williams diary, October 20, 1954.

[38] *A Call for Action*, pamphlet, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Editorials published in the LDS church-owned *Deseret News* applauded the amendment on similar grounds—there had been no satisfactory alternative and the proposed measure resembled the "inspired" federal form. Voicing concern of an urban-controlled legislature, an October 12 editorial urged voters to pass the measure, if for no other reason, because in fourteen years it had been the only districting proposal to pass through the Utah legislature.[39] Furthermore, the *Deseret News* reasoned that the two houses of legislature ought to be "different in character, origin and interests…It is the best protection yet devised against the tyranny of the majority over the minority."[40] One day before the elections, an editorial reaffirmed the paper's longstanding support for the amendment based on one primary reason: "tested and proven by 166 years of the greatest government on earth."[41]

In Utah's rural counties, newspaper editorials and articles lauded the reapportionment proposal. Tying the issue into rural resource development, Vernal's local newspaper argued that the Upper Colorado River Storage Project and the Echo Park Dam would never have been considered in Congress had it not been for the federal system of equal representation in the Senate. "The same principle is true with the rural areas of Utah," quipped Rep. Clair R. Hopkins. In the interest of both urban and rural populations of Utah, *The Vernal Express* argued on October 28, increased rural representation in the Utah legislature would be needed to back up Utah's delegation to Congress in their support of the Colorado River Project.[42] Though overwhelmingly Mormon, the rural areas seemed to be less concerned with the element of Mormon control in state politics than regional issues of resource development and equal representation in the legislature.

On the other hand, the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted in a Sunday October 10 editorial that the idea of one senator for each county was similarly proposed at the state's 1895 Constitutional Convention. In fact, several state delegates, notably Brigham H. Roberts, Charles S. Varian, George M. Cannon and William F. James, openly spoke out in opposition to the plan. Roberts reportedly told state delegates that the idea that "our counties, in their relation to the state, are analogous to the relationship of states to the American Union," was a "false notion."[43] Quoting from Roberts and others at the state convention, the *Tribune* editorial advised its readers to learn from the past—the discussion had already been debated. On October 20 the *Deseret News* began to publish under the heading "The Question Box"

[39] *Deseret News*, October 12, 1954.
[40] Ibid., October 17, 1954.
[41] Ibid., November 1, 1954.
[42] *The Vernal Express*, October 21, and 28, 1954. For a good discussion of the Colorado River Project and the Echo Park Dam controversy, see Mark W. T. Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).
[43] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 10, 1954.

answers regarding commonly asked questions, all biased in favor of reapportionment. The *Tribune* printed its own front-page discussion of the issue in "The Battle Corner." This regular election feature of the *Tribune* began on October 8 for the purpose of shedding light on major issues. The *Tribune's* "The Battle Corner" and the *Deseret News'* "The Question Box" provided readers with a chance to express their views on reapportionment and the companion issue of transferring junior colleges back to the Mormon church.

The distribution of pro-amendment pamphlets, however, generated the biggest controversy among opponents of the amendment. Though the pamphlet itself made no mention of the church, it was reportedly distributed throughout Utah via church lines. McKay had predicted correctly that many of the general authorities would take "vigorous" stands on the issue, two of whom worked in conjunction with Junius Jackson, chairman of the Salt Lake area stake presidents' committee, and local bishops and stake presidents throughout Salt Lake valley to distribute the pamphlets within the Mormon wards. From Moyle and Lee at the top, the pamphlets and other information concerning the proposal were to trickle down to the grass roots through carefully coordinated efforts of ward and stake leaders. Local church leaders encouraged home and visiting teachers, and in some cases even young "Beehive" girls, to distribute the pamphlets.[44]

Reportedly, a few members of the Quorum of the Twelve and stake presidents spoke over the pulpit in numerous ward meetings and stake conferences in favor of the amendment. Apostle Richard L. Evans, for example, "happened to drop by" in a Salt Lake City ward, urging the congregation to study the issues and to support a measure that would "protect our standards in future years against the threat which now confronts them [the congregation] in the increased industrialization of the State."[45]

Such church influence in a highly partisan affair was bound to create controversy among the members, and it did. Presumably State Senator Rulon Jenkins, "died of a broken heart" because of a "conflict of conscience" regarding the mix of church and state.[46] The president of East Mill Creek Stake supported the measure because it would help to revive "pioneer traditions" and "community character," though he opted not to speak of this in stake conference. After deliberate thought, one bishop decided not to pass out the pamphlets in his ward. Another bishop in Manti, however, supposedly told his ward that it was the will of God to pass the measure.[47] Moyle told one bishop who refused to circulate support for the measure within his ward that he didn't have to support it, though he had no liberty to go against it.[48]

[44] Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 113.
[45] Williams diary, October 17, 1954.
[46] Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 116.
[47] Notes, Folder 25, Box 136, Jonas Papers.
[48] Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 98.

The distribution of reapportionment pamphlets by stake and ward leaders was not uniform and varied considerably.[49] Moreover, it was not always clear if directives to distribute the pamphlets came directly from the Mormon church hierarchy. One woman from Grant Stake wrote that her husband received pamphlets from the bishop of her ward, who in turn received them from the stake president. She wondered, however, who gave them to the stake.[50] Thomas Muir, President of the Ensign Stake, reportedly claimed that "pamphlets were to be distributed to the Mormons and the non-Mormons within their stake boundaries." Frank Jonas scribbled on one of these pamphlets, however, that Muir had told him that he had received no instruction from the brethren to distribute the pamphlets.[51] Regardless of who gave the directives, there were some in the Ensign Stake, as in most other stakes, who were concerned with the church's dabbling in political matters. Ensign Stake high council member, G. Homer Durham, a political scientist at the University of Utah, expressed "real doubt," because of the "repercussions [that] were likely to come from misuse of church machinery for political purposes."[52]

That proponents and opponents alike recognized this danger is evident by the fact that local church leaders tried to hide general authority participation in the whispering campaign. While the role Moyle and Lee played in distributing the pamphlets remains ambiguous, clearly the two apostles had strong interest in rural rights and Mormon dominance in Utah politics. It seems probable that these two apostles, particularly as members of the Political Affairs Committee of the Mormon church, encouraged, if not orchestrated, the distribution in a discreet, low-profile manner. Yet, on October 17, following a public debate on the issue, Wilby Young told Williams that "private contributions" financed the publication of the leaflets at the Farm Bureau Federation Press.[53] Only a few days before this, Junius Jackson, valley-wide coordinator of the pamphlet's distribution, indicated something similar insisting that the idea to distribute the leaflets originated from a few stake presidents and bishops who "happened to believe" in rural apportionment.[54]

McKay was fully aware of the church-based distribution of pro-amendment pamphlets. Only two and a half weeks before the election, McKay suggested that the opposing side "could just as legitimately be distributed through the same channels," and for this reason, the president probably did not object to the distribution of pamphlets.[55] When Moyle called McKay by phone on September 28, 1954, regarding an upcoming meeting with

[49] Frank H. Jonas to Alfred B. Smith, January 29, 1955, Folder 18, Box 137, Jonas Papers.
[50] McKay Office Journal, November 2, 1954.
[51] Notes, Folder 25, Box 136, Jonas Papers.
[52] Williams diary, October 17, 1954.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., October 20, 1954.
[55] Ibid., October 17, 1954.

local church leaders in which reapportionment and the junior college issue would be discussed, McKay insisted that stake presidents not "campaign that Gen'l. Authorities are in favor of the Church's taking over the Junior Colleges, nor that they are in favor of the Reapportionment plan—also that they are not to quote the General Authorities on either issue."[56] Furthermore, the First Presidency purportedly instructed stake presidents in early October to refrain from using stake conference as a medium with which to propagate political views. Yet, McKay purportedly issued an anomalous statement to Lee Daleabout in November 1953: "Tell anyone who wants guidance on the reapportionment issue to consult apostles Lee and Moyle," both of whom favored it. Apparently, after Weilenmann, Williams, and Turner left McKay's office on the morning of November 26, 1953, the president told the two Republican delegates—Young and Daleabout—that the church "unofficially" supported the amendment.[57]

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Henry D. Moyle Mormon apostle, Democrat, and supporter of reapportionment amendment.

Publicly, however, McKay remained neutral on both reapportionment and the transfer of the junior colleges. While he personally supported the latter, McKay determined to make clear that the transfer "was not suggested directly or indirectly by the church." *Deseret News* editorials gave a positive look to the transfer proposal, but advised that "all conscientious citizens of Utah should weigh the Junior College proposition on its merits."[58] The only pamphlet that had been approved by the First Presidency for distribution, McKay told the Ogden Chamber of Commerce in late October, had been one that contained an exchange of letters between Governor Lee and himself regarding the transfer—any distribution of reapportionment material, he directed, had been administered contrary to his wishes.

McKay's public statement to the Ogden Chamber of Commerce may have been the only one made during the course of the election campaign. McKay admitted that the First Presidency did not answer the many letters that came to them regarding the official church position on the amendment, though they did answer at least one.[59] On September 1, 1954, Frank

[56] McKay Office Journal, September 28, 1954. On April 21, 1954, when McKay met with Moyle and Lee to discuss the position of the Church in regard to reapportionment, McKay reported that "there was some difference of opinion expressed…[and] no action decided upon." McKay Office Journal, April 21, 1954.

[57] Williams interview.

[58] *Deseret News*, October 19, 1954.

[59] McKay Office Journal, November 9, 1954.

Jonas wrote the First Presidency as to the official church position on reapportionment.[60] The First Presidency responded in a letter dated September 16, explaining, "no one is authorized to align us with either side of the controversy." Thereafter, while neither opponents nor proponents had proof in writing of First Presidency neutrality, Jonas used the contents of the letter in various public appearances in which the issue was discussed.[61]

Once opponents found out about the letter, they "turned heaven and earth" to secure McKay's approval for its public release.[62] Presidents Steven L. Richards and J. Reuben Clark advised Jonas not to release the letter, and initially he determined not to do so. He decided to try, however, only after he read a statement in the *Tribune* in late October by McKay rescinding any official church stand on the junior college transfer referendum. Moreover, J. D. Williams lobbied Jonas to release the letter. Williams found that Jonas had already spoken with McKay—who was out of town—about publicizing the letter of church neutrality, though apparently Jonas had not been entirely convinced that McKay approved.[63] Williams continued to pressure for the letter's release and Robert McKay, a son, made "frantic efforts" to contact the president again, eventually securing authorization to publish the letter. It was Jonas, however, who ultimately decided to publish the letter: "the president told [Jonas] that he should make up his own mind and do as he thought best, which is precisely what he did," wrote Jonas.[64]

Upon McKay's consent, Williams secured a copy of the letter from Jonas and lobbied both the *Deseret News* and the *Tribune* to release it. Surprisingly, Williams' "first victory" was with the *Deseret News*, which released the letter under his name on the front page with a headline in small print: "Reapportionment Letter Is Released." It read, in part, "we have consistently made the statement in response to inquires on this subject that the Church takes no position with reference to it." The following day the *Tribune* printed the letter under a more revealing title, "LDS Stresses No

[60] Frank H. Jonas to the First Presidency, September 1, 1954, Folder 17, Box 135, Jonas Papers.

[61] Frank H. Jonas to Stanley Rasmussen, October 26, 1954, Folder 25, Box 136, Jonas Papers. "When local Church officials were told about the letter," Jonas writes, "they wanted to know if it was official, that is, if it was signed by all three members of the First Presidency. All this time they were willing to accept the verbal statements of individual General Authorities as 'official,' who had no such letter to show them. They doubted that such a letter existed [though] they were willing to accept the word of an apostle without question." Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," 22.

[62] Frank Jonas to Lee W. Daleabout, November 11, 1954, Folder 1, Box 5, Jonas Papers.

[63] According to Williams, Jonas may have had several reasons to hesitate publishing the letter: "[First,] whether or not the release of the letter in his name…might bring terrible criticism from Mormon neighbors. Secondly, whether he wanted to be out front in this campaign, and then thirdly, of course not admitted, if there might have been a little problem of envy if it was released in my name [J. D. Williams], if one of the newspapers insisted upon it." Williams interview.

[64] Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," 23-25. When McKay returned to his office at 5:00 p.m. on November 1, 1954, he learned that his "telephone had been ringing almost continuously throughout the day—newspaper reporters, individuals, the associated press, etc. had called for information regarding the political issues of the day—the transfer by the State of Junior Colleges to the Church; the reapportionment, etc." McKay Office Journal, November 1, 1954.

Stand on Revamp."[65] In retrospect, Williams only found fault with the tardiness of the release and the rather bland heading of the article in the *Deseret News*.[66]

Utah citizens cast their votes on November 2, opposing the reapportionment measure by a margin of nearly 2 to 1: 142,972 to 80,044.[67] Enough Salt Lake County voters opted to vote the amendment down, defeating it 3 to 1 and nearly 5 to 1 in Weber County. Though, perhaps, not as disproportionate as would have been suspected —even split in a few rural counties—the vote in Utah's rural regions generally favored the amendment. In Box Elder County, for example, the local newspaper reported the unofficial count to be 3702 in favor and 2343 opposed, while the population in Sevier County overwhelmingly supported it: 2618 to 816.[68] Legislative reapportionment was to wait until the following year when the legislature passed a bill increasing the Senate from 23 to 25 seats and the House from 60 to 64 seats. A subsequent 1964 Supreme Court ruling *Reynolds v. Sims*, mandated a "both houses" rule for all state legislatures—that is legislators in both houses are to be elected based on population.

COURTESY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, J. WILLARD MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

J.D. Williams, University of Utah political science professor, met with LDS church president David O. McKay concerning reapportionment issue.

The decision to publish the First Presidency letter attracted criticism from those who had either assumed President McKay supported the amendment or resented church neutrality. Though he admitted there had been "improprieties on the part of stake and ward people in the ways they had distributed the leaflets," Press Robinson, editor-in-chief of the *Deseret News*, expressed concern to Williams that the letter would embarrass the general authorities of the church.[69] Allegedly, a member of the twelve apostles criticized Jonas for agreeing to the release of the letter, claiming that the letter was "confidential and meant for his eyes only." In an article written on the campaign, Jonas denies this claim and specifies that he had specifically written to church officials about the issue because he would be the moderator during a conference of the Utah Municipal League in which reapportionment would be discussed. Though the First Presidency

[65] *Deseret News*, November 1, 1954; *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 2, 1954.

[66] Williams interview.

[67] Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy*, 361; the *Deseret News* reported the count to be 137,957 to 75,488. *Deseret News*, November 3, 1954; Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," 369.

[68] *The Leader*, November 4, 1954; *The Richfield Reaper*, November 4, 1954.

[69] Williams interview; Williams diary, October 30, 1954.

received a great number of inquiries on several occasions regarding the official position of the Church on reapportionment, Jonas reasons, "[they] apparently decided to make its position clear and public by addressing it to the moderator of the League's panel on reapportionment."[70]

The release of the letter no doubt generated significant numbers opposed to the amendment, but it may not have tipped the balance on Election Day. Ostensibly, enough urban voters—including Mormons—disapproved of church involvement in a rural redistricting measure to threaten its defeat even without the statement of neutrality. Though he strongly opposed the measure, Jonas initially hesitated to push for the letter's release for this reason. Yet while the amendment may have suffered defeat in Utah's three urban counties, it certainly wouldn't have been 3 to 1, nor would the vote have been as close as it was in many rural areas. For those Mormons who viewed the letter as simply a public appeaser, some, perhaps, were generally more apathetic on Election Day than their non-Mormon counterparts who made it a point to protect their political power. For others the letter gave freedom to the obedient and faithful members to vote their own conscience.[71]

There can be no question that the Mormon church played an active role in the 1954 redistricting campaign. Mormon general authorities provided the steam with which to push the issue on the Mormon public, and the LDS church-owned newspaper, the *Deseret News*, strongly advocated the amendment through regularly featured editorials. Though the *Deseret News* made repeated attempts to make clear that the paper did not presume to tell people how to vote, the effective influence and role of the newspaper as the "official organ" of the Mormon church cannot be overestimated. Frank Jonas has observed that the First Presidency kept a "consistent record of not taking a stand on reapportionment" and that "whatever action was taken at the stake and ward levels showed diversity and variation and not a uniform pattern."[72] Others presume McKay endorsed church campaigning in favor of the amendment: "The campaign failed," historian D. Michael Quinn concludes, "only because McKay was unwilling to accept public criticism for the private campaign he had been directing."[73]

Evidence suggests, however, that McKay had taken a consistent neutral stance on the amendment. The 1954 elections were a stressful burden on McKay given that many of his colleagues supported the reapportionment amendment and given the strong opposition to the measure manifested, and the church president may have been relieved that the position of the First Presidency had been made clear. One week following the election,

[70] Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," 21-23; see Frank H. Jonas to the First Presidency, September 1, 1954, Folder 17, Box 135, Jonas Papers.

[71] Williams interview.

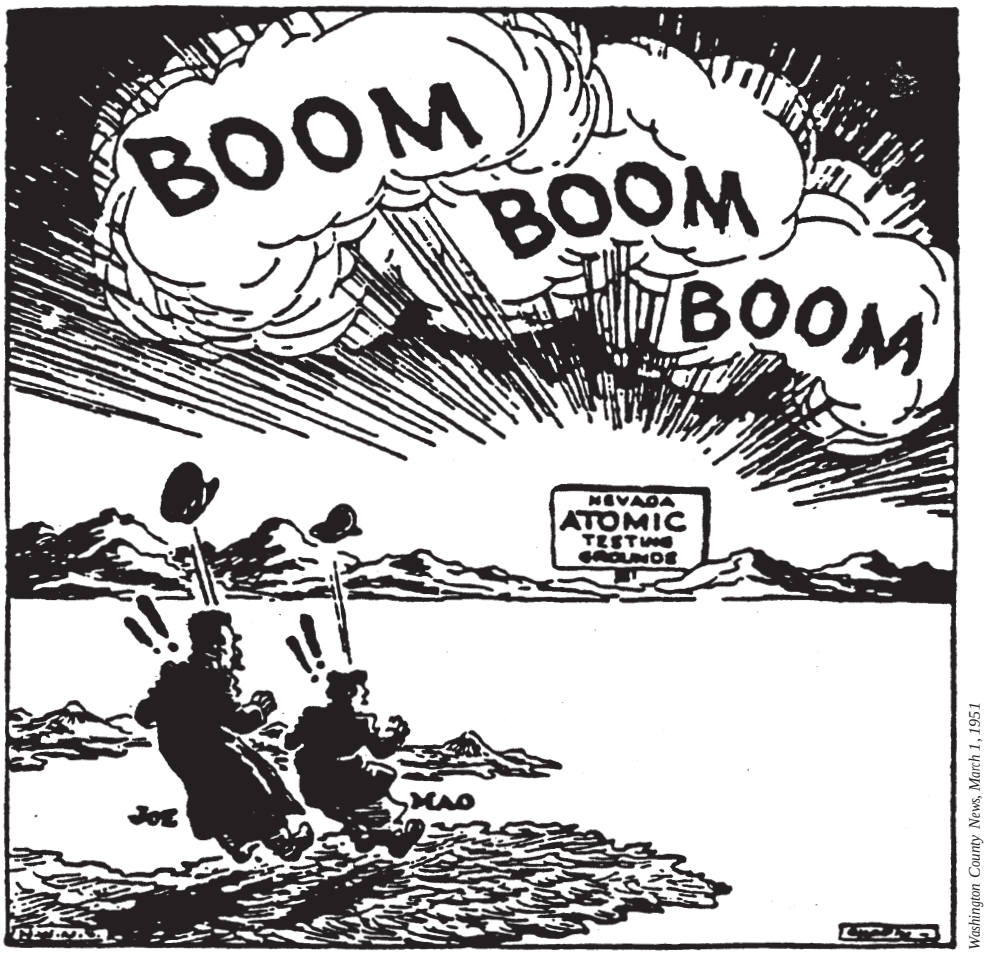
[72] Frank H. Jonas to Alfred B. Smith, January 29, 1955, Folder 18, Box 137, Jonas Papers.

[73] Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy*, 362.

McKay expressed regret that the pamphlets were "distributed through Church channels" because it "implied that the Church was taking an active part favoring the proposed amendment. This was not the case," he wrote.[74] While McKay may have personally supported the reapportionment measure and knew of the activities of the Political Affairs Committee and the Citizens' Committee for Reapportionment of the Legislature, he disapproved of much of what they did.

Utah did get some sense of the import of the 1954 campaign and responded overwhelmingly in an otherwise dull election year. The Mormon people responded to what J. D. Williams refers to as a "logical extension of Mormonism's 'Manifest Destiny' from Nauvoo days that said, 'Never again will we lose control of the politics in Zion.'"[75] For those who saw the 1954 reapportionment campaign as essential to maintaining this control, however, it would not be so. Though comprising only approximately 70 percent of the state's population, Mormons today hold 80 percent of elected offices in Utah. While these numbers may be misleading because they fail to account for "the shades of personal faith or sectarian loyalty,"[76] they also indicate just how tightly the Mormon church influences—either directly or indirectly—the political climate in Utah. Indeed, while Apostle Henry D. Moyle and others may have believed they lost the battle for reapportionment in 1954, and some feared that as a result Mormons could lose political control of the state, nearly a half century later members of the Mormon church continue to dominate politics in Utah.

[74] McKay Office Journal, November 9, 1954.
[75] Williams interview.
[76] Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," 367.



Washington County News, March 1, 1951

Did "Dirty Harry" Kill John Wayne? Media Sensationalism and the Filming of *The Conqueror* in the Wake of Atomic Testing

By DYLAN JIM ESSON

In the 1956 movie *The Amazing Colossal Man*, an army officer played by Glenn Langan is exposed, while at the Nevada Test Site, to radiation which alters his growth genes. As a result, Langan's character proceeds to grow at the frightening rate of eight feet per day,

***Can This Be 'The Thing?'* cartoon of Mao Tse-Tung and Joseph Stalin being surprised by atomic testing at Nevada test site.**

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eventually becoming a menacing giant who terrorizes the nearby community of Las Vegas, Nevada. To save the city from destruction by the giant, the army is forced to kill him, which it does in a dramatic scene atop the Hoover Dam. A wild fantasy, *The Amazing Colossal Man* was just one of many films released in the 1950s in which Hollywood explored both the real and fantastic fears that the public had of atomic bombs and radiation. Over thirty years later, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the nuclear threat remained a popular topic as evidenced by movies such as *The China Syndrome* and *Silkwood*, films that showed the dangers nuclear plants posed to public health.

While Hollywood profited from playing on the fears of nuclear bombs and radiation, people in southwestern Utah actually suffered from diseases caused by radiation that resulted from atomic bombs tests conducted roughly 130 miles west at the Nevada Test Site, the place depicted in *The Amazing Colossal Man*. Living downwind of the Nevada Test Site between 1951 and 1963, citizens of southern Utah frequently experienced the bright flashes of light, the tremors, and the fallout that resulted from atomic bomb explosions.

Although Hollywood never documented the experiences of southern Utahns, it, nevertheless, became associated with their plight because of a 1979 tabloid news story that linked actor John Wayne's death to radiation exposure he allegedly suffered in 1954 while filming the movie *The Conqueror* in southern Utah.

Like *The Amazing Colossal Man*, the rumor that John Wayne was a victim of atomic testing was a sensation that attracted attention because it seemed so unbelievable. Regardless of its tabloid entertainment value, the claim that John Wayne was a downwinder–a person who suffered from cancer or birth defects because of exposure to radioactive fallout–is an important issue to explore because it is an example of the difficulties of downwinder allegations.

Downwinders are most often determined by the criteria of their living in southern Utah between 1951 and 1963 and their status as cancer sufferers. John Wayne is considered a downwinder because he met these requirements. On closer examination, however, the issue is more complicated as it becomes clear that the claim that John Wayne is a downwinder is a specious argument produced more by conspiracy thinking and sensational journalism than from defensible scientific fact. The problematic link between *Conqueror* participants and southern Utah downwinders provides a way to examine the difficulties of determining whether a person is a downwinder in addition to demonstrating the division between popular and scientific understandings of the dangers of fallout.[1]

The link between John Wayne's death from cancer and the media's claim

[1] For more information about Utah downwinders, see Howard Ball, *Justice Downwind: America's Atomic Testing Program in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Philip L. Fradkin, *Fallout: An American Nuclear Tragedy* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984); and John G. Fuller, *The Day We Bombed Utah: America's Most Lethal Secret* (New York: New American Library, 1984).

that he was a victim of government atomic tests was in many ways a coincidence. In 1979, when the combined effects of throat and stomach cancers got the best of Wayne, the United States government was at work addressing the possibility that people in southern Utah had developed cancer as a direct result of exposure to radioactive fallout from atomic bomb tests conducted in Nevada from 1951 to1963. Peter Brennan, a reporter for the national tabloid magazine *The Star*, capitalized on the coincidence of the two events. He suggested that the U.S. government was to blame for Wayne's death because the actor had filmed the movie *The Conqueror* in southern Utah during the 1950s and, therefore, would have been exposed to cancer-causing radiation.[2] Brennan's story circulated in Europe where *The Times* of London reported that the Wayne family was skeptical of the report.[3] Although correct in their details, the articles' conclusions were based on speculation that relied on coincidence rather than scientific data.

While the Wayne family expressed little interest in Brennan's claims, Jeanne Gerson, the actress who played nurse to Susan Hayward's leading character in *The Conqueror*, pursued the claims. By 1979 doctors had already removed cancerous tumors from Gerson's nose and left calf, and had performed a mastectomy on her as well.[4] In Brennan's article, Gerson found an explanation for her cancer history. As an indication of her interest in Brennan's claims, Gerson appeared on NBC's *Prime Time* with Tom Snyder within a week of the publication of Brennan's article to discuss rumors about *The Conqueror*'s link to atomic tests.[5]

Gerson's interest and concern about the presence of radiation fallout in southern Utah did not end with her television appearance, and within a month of appearing on *Prime Time* she contacted the St. George Area Chamber of Commerce to investigate the continued radiation dangers in southwestern Utah. In a return letter, executive director A. B. Anderson tried to calm Gerson, explaining that scientists had checked the area and declared it safe. Anderson also wrote that news about fallout-related cancers among *Conqueror* participants was "sheer speculation" and that it only helped to "provide the media the sensationalism that is necessary for their success."[6] The *Conqueror* story was not the only dubious news, because, according to Anderson, neither the courts nor Congress had determined the cause for the high cancer incidence among St. George residents.

Gerson was unfazed by the lack of support from the Chamber of

[2] David Seifman, "Movie Stars May Have Been Bomb-Test Victims," *New York Post*, August 6, 1979; "Stars' Cancer Deaths Linked to '53 A-Test," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6,1979.

[3] Ian Brodie, "'Dirty Harry' Cited in 700 Cancer Lawsuits," *The Times* (London) August 6,1979, sec. A, 11.

[4] Jeanne Gerson, "Medical History," Jeanne Gerson personal papers maintained by Leah Vasquez, Laguna Beach, California.

[5] Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, to Peter Brennan, Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1979, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[6] A. B. Anderson, St. George, Utah, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, September 13, 1979, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

Commerce and decided in early October 1979 to seek the rumor's source. Peter Brennan, Gerson thought, might be able to provide her with more information on the connection between the incidence of cancer among *Conqueror* participants and the claims of downwinders in southern Utah and Nevada. In a letter to Brennan, Gerson explained that although she was seeking monetary compensation for her medical bills, she was "not out to involve [herself] in any lawsuits."[7] Despite Gerson's apprehension about participating in a legal drama, Brennan's only suggestion was that she look into the lawsuit the people in St. George were bringing against the government and that she also be aware that Congress had assembled a committee to explore the downwinders' claims.

Following Brennan's advice, Gerson contacted her congressional representative who told her to contact Stewart L. Udall, who was organizing a class action suit on behalf of the downwinders. Udall, a former congressman from Arizona and Secretary of the Interior under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, had a personal stake in the downwinder claims; he had family members living in the downwind area. His legal actions on behalf of downwinders dated back to 1978, when he read of their claims in a *Washington Post* article that raised the question of government culpability for high cancer rates in the downwind areas.[8]

In early January 1980, Gerson wrote Udall asking to be included in the class action suit. In the letter she explained her motivation for seeking legal compensation: "I feel cheated of the years in which I–and my family–might have enjoyed the benefits which come from tremendous effort and hard work. I also feel an obligation to my family to compensate in some way for the care and anxiety which has been their lot through the years of my dependence on them."[9] Udall expressed interest in Gerson's claims and asked her to supply him with information on what types of leukemia or cancer she had, where she had lived from 1951 to 1962, and what memories she had of fallout clouds.[10] In her reply, Gerson informed Udall that she had lived in Studio City, California, from 1951 to 1962 and had spent thirteen weeks filming on location in southern Utah in 1954. She also discussed the malignant growths on her nose and her battle with breast cancer. Although she could not remember a fallout cloud–she apparently was unaware that there were no tests during the 1954 filming–she did recall being caught in a terrible rainstorm while in St. George. When the storm began, she and John Wayne were filming a scene inside a tent. The tent had provided them with little protection before it lifted off the ground and was blown away in the violent winds. Without shelter, "cameras, bulbs, fixtures,

[7] Gerson to Brennan, October 3, 1979, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[8] Philip L. Fradkin, *Fallout: An American Nuclear Tragedy* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 37.

[9] Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, to Senator Stewart L. Udall, Washington, D.C., January 7,1980, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[10] Stewart L. Udall, Phoenix, Arizona, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, February 4, 1980, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

actors and everyone and everything disappeared," Gerson said.[11] Although she escaped injury by struggling through the ankle-deep mud into a nearby trailer, the experience proved distressing for Gerson who learned "for the first time what it feels like to run for one's life."[12] Gerson was uncertain whether the storm had any relation to fallout clouds but, based on her short stay in St. George and her subsequent battle with cancer, she reminded Udall that "I, too, am a victim" like the downwinders.[13]

Gerson's suggestion of a connection between the rainstorm and a possible atomic cloud is revealing because it shows how little she knew about the atomic tests and the resulting fallout. For one, the rain clouds that wreaked havoc on the movie set were far more violent than the fallout clouds that resulted from atomic blasts. In fact, no harsh weather had accompanied the arrival of fallout clouds; people only took shelter when told to do so by government officials stationed throughout southern Nevada and Utah during the tests. Gerson obviously understood that direct exposure to radiation increased one's likelihood of cancer, and she felt that the blowing sand may have contained radioactive particles. It was clear from her story that she had little idea of what the people in southern Utah had experienced of actual fallout clouds, which were ultimately more dangerous than regular storm clouds because they were seemingly innocuous. Had the fallout clouds announced themselves with driving rain or violent winds, perhaps more people could have avoided exposure to the fallout that was later linked to so many cancer cases in the area.

In March 1980 Gerson received her long-awaited response from Udall with great disappointment. Udall informed her that he had "no choice but to decline weaker cases at this time." According to Udall, Gerson failed to meet his client profile because she had not been a permanent resident of the downwind area between 1951 and 1962. Therefore, he wrote, "we are fearful that it would weaken our case if we mixed in short-term, part-time residents."[14] Udall also noted that no bomb tests were conducted while Gerson was on location in 1954, and he mentioned that it would be difficult enough to prove that direct radiation exposure caused cancer among the permanent Utah residents, let alone to convince a judge that Gerson and other *Conqueror* participants had developed cancer because of exposure to blowing radioactive sand rather than to actual radioactive fallout.

Gerson's case was actually even more tenuous than Udall was aware,

[11] Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, to Stewart L. Udall, Phoenix, Arizona, February 10, 1980, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, to Stewart L. Udall, Phoenix, Arizona, February 29, 1980, Jeanne Gerson personal papers. For a contemporary account of the storm see "RKO Radio Pictures, Inc. Suffers Storm Loss to Set Equipment in Dixie," *Washington News*, July 1, 1954, and "Rain Deluge Plays Havoc with RKO Sets," *Washington County News*, July 1, 1954.

[14] Stewart L. Udall, Phoenix, Arizona, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, March 6, 1980, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

because she was mistaken that she had stayed in St. George for thirteen weeks; newspaper evidence shows that on-location filming began in early June and was finished by July 14, a period of only six weeks. With her request rejected, Gerson's only option was to file her own suit against the government. Such a venture required development of an indefensible case that could compensate for her short-term stay in St. George.

In November 1980 *The Conqueror* again made news when *People* magazine published an article exploring Brennan's claims. Researched and written by Karen G. Jackovich and Mark Sennet, the article provided the statistics that Jeanne Gerson needed. According to Jackovich, of the 220 cast and crew employed by RKO Radio Pictures, Inc., on *The Conqueror*, ninety-one had developed cancer by 1980, while forty-six had died from the disease. To explain the significance of her research, Jackovich quoted Dr. Robert C. Pendleton, director of radiological health at the University of Utah, who explained that: "With these numbers, this case could qualify as an epidemic. The connection between fallout radiation and cancer in individual cases has been practically impossible to prove conclusively. But in a group this size you'd expect only 30-some cancers to develop. With 91, I think the tie-in to their exposure on the set of 'The Conqueror' would hold up even in a court of law."[15]

To corroborate Pendleton's remarks, Jackovich quoted Dr. Ronald Oseas of Harbor UCLA Medical Center who said, "It is known that radiation contributes to the risk of cancer. With these numbers, it is highly probable that the *Conqueror* group was affected by the additive effect."[16] Despite the absence of bomb tests in 1954 when the film was shot, Pendleton explained that, "fallout was very abundant more than a year after [the 1953 atomic shot] Harry. Some of the isotopes, such as strontium 90 and cesium 137, would not have diminished much." According to Pendleton, these particles would have collected in "hot spots" like the dunes of St. George's Snow Canyon. Jackovich explained that the *Conqueror* participants were probably exposed to radiation because they often became coated with sand while filming in that area. In fact, many actors required hosing off after filming because they were so covered with dust. As an indication of the prevalence of airborne sand, Jackovich also noted that the movie's director, Dick Powell, had to wear a surgical mask to prevent dust inhalation on the set.[17] Additionally, according to Jackovich, exposure to the sand did not end once the cast and crew left St. George because RKO had also trucked sixty tons of the dirt back to Culver City, California, for retakes on sound stages.

Jackovich's scientific evidence was alarming, but even more disturbing were her suggestions of a government conspiracy. Dr. Harold Knapp, the

[15] Karen G. Jackovich and Mark Sennet, "The Children of John Wayne, Susan Hayward and Dick Powell Fear that Fallout Killed Their Parents," *People*, November 10, 1980, 42.

[16] Ibid., 44.

[17] Ibid., 46.

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Publicity for "The Conqueror" starring John Wayne and Susan Hayward filmed in Washington County, 1955.

Department of Nuclear Energy's advisor to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the former member of the Fallout Studies Branch of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), intimated to Jackovich that the government had willingly endangered southern Utahns: "The government definitely had a complete awareness of what was going on. To a trained professional, the information contained in their once-confidential reports is most shocking."[18] Although Knapp did not elaborate on his comments, it is likely he was referring to the particularly disturbing events that followed atomic shot "Harry," on May 19, 1953, when a fallout cloud drifted over St. George, causing Public Health Service Monitor Frank Butrico to order everyone in town to take cover.[19] Butrico would later tell citizens that the fallout had been harmless, but it was apparent from his actions that radiation fallout was more dangerous than the government had reported. Shot "Harry" soon became known as "Dirty Harry" because its dark fallout cloud actually deposited radiation sediment on St. George.

Although Knapp's statements accused the government of willingly exposing southern Utahns to radiation, Jackovich noted that Michael Wayne, Norman Powell, and other progeny of the principal players in *The Conqueror* who cooperated with the *People* article's authors, refused to file claims against the government, even though they had experienced cancer scares themselves since visiting the set in 1954.[20] These sons and daughters of the famous had much more altruistic intentions in contributing to the article. They claimed they wanted to use the story of their parents' time in southern Utah and their own battles with cancer to spotlight the plight of downwinders in St. George, whom they felt had been forgotten by their government and the nation.[21] Norman Powell, son of director-producer

[18] Ibid., 44.

[19] "Discussions with Frank Butrico, Monitor at St. George, Utah, May 1953 (Draft 1)," Deposition Held at Nevada Operations Office, U.S. Department of Energy, Las Vegas, Nevada, August 14, 1980, Coordination and Information Center, U.S. Department of Energy, Las Vegas, Nevada, 4.

[20] Michael Wayne was diagnosed with skin cancer in 1975 and his brother had a benign breast tumor removed in 1969. Susan Hayward's son Tim Barker had a brush with cancer when he had a benign tumor removed from his mouth in 1968 which he acknowledged may have been due to his smoking habit, although he emphasized that "radiation doesn't help either." Jackovich, "The Children of John Wayne," 44.

[21] Michael Wayne, telephone interview notes with author, January 10, 2000.

Dick Powell, explained: "These poor folks, with no celebrities among them, are just quietly dying out there and nobody cares. But with the high numbers of casualties among a Hollywood cast, maybe someone will sit up and take notice."[22] While the children of cast members did not file any lawsuits, Jackovich reported that one cast member, Jeanne Gerson, was pursuing legal action against the U.S. government for failing to notify the movie cast and crew of the radiological dangers.

For Gerson, the *People* article both provided the necessary facts she needed to build a case and also served as a bulletin notifying other *Conqueror* participants suffering from cancer that the federal government may have been responsible for their diseases. Additionally, the article made Gerson a spokeswoman for the Hollywood downwinders during 1981, and by May, she had granted six interviews–four to English publications, and one each to German and French publications.

Gerson's positive reception in the media and other outlets failed to transfer to legal matters as she struggled throughout 1981 to build a case. In July her lawyer, Ronald G. Bakal, wrote to suggest she file a lawsuit in federal court under the Federal Torts Claims Act because he thought she had a "reasonable claim for damages against the U.S."[23] Despite the grounds for legal action, Bakal informed Gerson that he would be terminating his own services due to lack of support staff for such an ambitious case. He further advised her to gather survivors who could raise a retainer fee for another attorney. Left without representation, Gerson applied for aid from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Office of Research and Development, but her case was closed due to the lack of sufficient medical information.[24]

In 1984 Gerson made her last attempt for legal representation when she contacted J. MacArthur Wright of the law firm of Atkin, Wright & Miles in St. George. Wright replied that many people had approached him regarding *The Conqueror* but that the problem of no permanent residency by the Hollywood downwinders and the lack of extensive scientific investigation and analysis prevented his firm from pursuing the case.[25] Like Bakal, Wright advised Gerson to organize survivors on her own so that resources could be pooled and the necessary investigation could be undertaken.

Although she remained persistent in her cause, Gerson never attempted to contact *Conqueror* survivors, to form a group of Hollywood downwinders. Gerson's reluctance in this venture, however, did not signal a

[22] Jackovich, "The Children of John Wayne," 46.

[23] Ronald G. Bakal, Beverly Hills, California, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, July 7, 1981, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[24] M. E. Kaye, Las Vegas, Nevada, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, July 20, 1981; Roy C. Baumann, Las Vegas, Nevada, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, May 25, 1982, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[25] J. MacArthur Wright, St. George, Utah, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, June 22, 1984, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

waning interest to prove that the government was responsible for causing her cancers, and she continued to seek out an organization that could complete the necessary medical studies. Dr. Donnell Boardman of the Center for Atomic Radiation Studies, Inc., expressed interest in Gerson's request but noted a few reservations. Addressing the statistic that 91 of the 220 *Conqueror* participants had developed cancer, Boardman informed Gerson that the expected cancer incidence in the United States over a period of thirty years was around 30 to 40 percent.[26] Although the slightly higher *Conqueror* statistics, at 41 percent, corresponded to these estimates, Boardman neglected to mention that the *Conqueror* participants did not necessarily represent a random sample of society because they all worked in the film industry; therefore, the statistics possibly indicated more about cancer incidence within the movie business than they did about the accuracy of national statistics. Boardman did preserve some hope, however, acknowledging that Gerson's numbers "may well be of real medical and scientific importance" if it could be proven that a lapse of ten or fifteen years occurred between the movie's filming and the development of malignancy among its participants.[27] Even then, Gerson would need money to pay an investigator to locate the medical histories of all affected participants. Gerson never pursued Boardman's suggestion.

Most of the measures Gerson undertook were personal and never made headlines. The public, therefore, never learned that the allegations about the high incidence of cancer among the cast and crew of *The Conqueror* were, at the time, legally untenable because of a dearth of medical history research about the participants. Thus, the claims went largely unchallenged. In fact, only one person connected with *The Conqueror* ever came forward to dispute the claims. In 1979, the *Deseret News*, a Salt Lake City newspaper, interviewed Dick Hammer about *The Conqueror*. Hammer, who had employed fifty-five people to help feed the cast and crew of the movie, denied that radiation could have affected John Wayne because none of his own workers had developed cancer despite being "there [on location] more than anyone else."[28] Although neither Hammer's logic nor his statements were entirely sound or accurate, objections such as his to the allegations that *Conqueror* participants were victims of atomic fallout did have credible foundations.[29]

[26] It is not clear if Boardman was referring to the thirty years after the movie was filmed or if he was referring to any span of thirty years. Current cancer statistics show that the lifetime risk of being diagnosed with cancer is 43 percent for men and 38 percent for women. These same statistics also show that roughly 80 percent of cancers are diagnosed after age forty-five. Many of the films participants were, in fact, diagnosed with cancer in their fifties. Over the past fifty years, the age group fifty-five to sixty-four has consistently accounted for 20 percent of the nation's cancer diagnoses. Lynn A. Gloeckler Ries et al, ed. *SEER Cancer Statistics Review, 1973-1997*, National Cancer Institute, NIH Pub. No. 00-2789, (Bethesda, Maryland: 2000), 18, 35, 41.

[27] Donnell W. Boardman, Acton, Massachusetts, to Jeanne Gerson, Los Angeles, California, October 24,1984, Jeanne Gerson personal papers.

[28] Dorothy E. See, "Restauranteur Scoffs at Story," *Deseret News*, August 10, 1979.

[29] Sheila Eding worked for Dick Hammer during the filming of *The Conqueror* and had a number of cancer surgeries later in life. Sheila Eding, phone interview by author, tape recording, November 1, 1999.

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John Wayne and two sons, Michael and Patrick (bare chested) and unidentified man reading Geiger counter during film break "The Conqueror" (1955) filmed in Washington County.

The methods Jackovich used and the scientists she quoted were controversial. Although the inclusion of a scientific opinion in the *People* article gave Jackovich's research credibility, Dr. Robert Pendleton, Jackovich's main source of scientific information about radiation, was known to have played an active role in issues concerning atomic fallout. Pendleton's interest in radiation fallout had begun well before his 1980 interview with Jackovich. Eighteen years before, on July 7, 1962, Pendleton had taken a group of his students into the mountains east of Salt Lake City to measure background radiation near various rock formations. While gathering data, the fallout cloud from atomic shot "Sedan," which had been detonated the previous day at the Nevada Test Site, floated over Pendleton and his students, causing their instruments to show radiation levels one hundred times the normal background levels. The cloud exceeded fallout levels established as acceptable by the Federal Radiation Council. These high readings alarmed Pendleton, who contacted the Utah State Department of Health to suggest that milk produced that day be removed from the market because it likely contained large amounts of radiation. The Department of Health, along with the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Radiation Council, opposed the measure and suggested that Pendleton be fired.[30] Despite his conflict with federal agencies, Pendleton earned the respect of one colleague, who called him "a visionary, often years ahead of his time" and a person "sometimes misunderstood by the unimaginative."[31] Pendleton's independence and "vision," although admirable, bred a division between himself and the AEC.

As he did in the 1960s, Pendleton continued in the 1970s to discredit the authority of the AEC and to accuse it of misleading the public about radiation safety. In January 1979, only one year before the *People* article was published, Brigham Young University's *Daily Universe* student newspaper

[30] Charles W. Mays to John D. Spikes, December 11, 1973, Robert C. Pendleton papers, University of Utah Archives, Salt Lake City.

[31] Ibid.

quoted Pendleton on the AEC's deceitfulness about radiation dangers: "At the federal level I think it was a cover-up, and with my experience, I think it was by design and not by oversight."[32] If Pendleton's remarks were true, then the government was responsible for killing his first wife, who, Pendleton believed, was a victim of fallout from atomic tests in Nevada. Pendleton's criticisms of the AEC and the atomic tests, although based on professional experiences, had a painful personal connection that informed his thoughts about the danger of radiation fallout and brought into question his status as a neutral commentator about the matter.

Citing Pendleton's personal experiences, the media could choose to depict him as an expert on fallout, as a victim of it, or as a complex combination of both. More often than not, he was the expert who battled like Rachel Carson to alert people to the dangers in their environment. Yet, even as an objective informer, Pendleton still had to contend with the subjective interpretations of his words by journalists, of whom he expressed reservations:

> Unfortunately the words given to a reporter by a scientist are far too often given the modern journalistic treatment, that is make a "sensation whether there is one or not," and the words of the scientist come out of the article as words of doom presaging the destruction of all mankind, the alteration of the gene patterns of the world, etc. This is, of course, not so, and most scientists are learning to keep their mouths shut rather than talk to newspapers.[33]

These comments, although made in 1967, nevertheless apply to the 1980 *People* article because they caution about the precarious authority journalists can give scientific assessments. In the *People* article, Pendleton's comments lent credibility to Jackovich's numbers, but it must be remembered that Pendleton was expressing only an opinion about the evidence that 91 of 220 cast and crew members of *The Conqueror* had developed cancer since the movie's filming. His comments were by no means based on his own original research. Still, Jackovich relied on Pendleton's statements to convey the radiation danger in Snow Canyon when quoting him as saying fallout was "abundant" there in 1954. To critics it may come as no surprise that Pendleton's vague answers and opinions were sufficient scientific approval of Jackovich's conclusions, for *People*—a magazine dedicated more to celebrity gossip than to anything else—was not an academic journal committed to publishing scrupulously researched scientific studies. The article, after all, was written to cause a sensation and raise awareness about the plight of downwinders, not to explore the scientific complexities of radiation fallout.

Pendleton's University of Utah colleague Lynn Anspaugh, who conducted numerous fallout studies himself, expressed doubt that Pendleton made the remarks attributed to him in *People*. According to Anspaugh, Pendleton's statements were uncharacteristic and were probably the result of media

[32] *Daily Universe* (Provo, Utah), January 16, 1979, Robert C. Pendleton papers.
[33] Robert C. Pendleton to David J. Kalna, October 4,1967, Robert C. Pendleton papers.

sensationalism.[34] After analyzing the fallout readings from areas throughout Washington County for 1954, Anspaugh figured that the *Conqueror* cast and crew probably received no more than one to four millirems of radiation.[35] This measurement was only a fraction of the dosage the average person receives from naturally occurring background radiation. Based on such numbers, the risk of the cast or crew of *The Conqueror* developing fatal cancers solely from time spent in St. George was one in a million. In addition, to account for the number of cancer deaths cited by Jackovich, participants in *The Conqueror* would have needed exposure to 430 rem of radiation, and the presence of such a large amount of radiation would have caused all the residents of St. George and nearby towns to die from acute radiation sickness.[36]

These radiation figures would have discredited Jackovich's research and guaranteed that no *Conqueror* victims would have won legal battles against the U.S. government. Still, Anspaugh's numbers may never have fully discredited Jackovich, for downwinders were suspicious of scientists. During the 1950s, government scientists had assured downwinders that radiation fallout was not harmful, even though, thirty years later, scientists did discover increased leukemia rates among St. George children following the atomic tests.[37] Thus, associated with a government conspiracy, scientists could not hope to regain the credibility they once held.

For the most part, the strength of the *People* article rested on the numbers that Jackovich had supplied: namely, that 91 of 220 cast and crew members had developed cancer by 1980. Yet, Jackovich failed to mention the types of cancers that predominated in the group or to establish whether all 220 had been exposed to the allegedly radioactive sand. Although reports indicated that she had interviewed 150 actors and crew members, there was no mention of any medical record research.[38] These omissions prevented Jackovich's statistics from gaining significant medical or legal support.

Jackovich's poor methodology was never publicly criticized. Some of her mistakes though were repeated four years after the publication of her article when Carl Johnson, a medical researcher at the University of Utah, published research on cancer incidence in downwinder communities. The criticism subsequently directed at Johnson's results suggest the scientific response Jackovich might have received had her research ever been scrutinized. Johnson's results were notable because they showed an excess of 109 cancers among the 4,125 residents of St. George.[39] According to Dr. Joseph

[34] Lynn Anspaugh, interview by author, notes, December 2, 1999, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[35] Lynn Anspaugh to author, e-mail with spreadsheet attachment, December 6, 1999.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Joseph Lyon, et al, "Childhood Leukemias Associated with Fallout from Nuclear Testing," *New England Journal of Medicine* 300 (February 1979): 397-402.

[38] "Wayne Death Linked to A-Bomb Tests," *Los Angeles Evening Outlook*, November 3, 1980.

[39] Carl J. Johnson, "Cancer Incidence in an Area of Radioactive Fallout Downwind from the Nevada Test Site," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 251 (January 13, 1984): 234.

Lyon, Johnson's statistics were misleading. Johnson, like Jackovich, had relied on interviews with heads of families instead of on medical records to account for cancer cases over the preceding thirty years.[40] Lyon noted, furthermore, that besides a small study of his own which determined 90 percent accuracy between memory-recalled cancer and vital records, "no other studies have been done in Utah to test the accuracy of memory-recalled cancer diagnosis with hospital and pathological records."[41]

Lyon's reservations about Johnson's numbers resulted from his belief that residents could mistake other diseases for cancer and thus alter the statistics. Johnson rejected Lyon's statements, defending his study with the argument, "Cancer is a major life-threatening event that will be remembered by a person and by members of the family."[42] Johnson also indignantly reminded Lyon that physicians, not the patients or their families, were diagnosing cancer. Still, Johnson admitted that his interviewees' memories were imperfect, conceding that the years of cancer diagnosis could not be recalled with certainty in 18 percent of the cases.[43] Even more troubling, said Lyon, was that volunteers conducted interviews after the families had viewed a documentary entitled "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang," which stressed that fallout caused cancer in people living downwind from the Nevada Test Site.[44] According to Lyon, interviewees who had seen the film may have incorrectly reported incidences of cancer and consequently skewed the cancer statistics.

For a scientist relying on defensible data, Johnson's surprising lack of discretion in compiling numbers helped to discredit his results. Like Johnson, Jackovich had relied upon interviews to compile her list of ninety-one, mostly nameless, cancer victims. The margin of error was similar in both reports. Johnson's results, however, were subject to the scrutiny of his colleagues, while those of Jackovich were understood as journalistic sensationalism in a magazine that depended upon such material for its readership. Critiques of Johnson's report helped refine the way scientists thereafter conducted studies of downwinder populations. In contrast, Jackovich's article, presented outside a critical academic sphere, offered no new methodological approaches to downwinder studies; it did, however, attract attention for suggesting that the government sacrificed its own citizens to produce better bombs.

That the *People* article failed to correlate claims with scientific findings was surprisingly not unusual. Discrepancies between actual fallout levels and cancer incidence surfaced in several studies of downwinders during the 1980s. Both Dr. Glyn Caldwell of the Center for Disease Control, and

[40] Joseph L. Lyon and Katharina L. Shuman, "Radioactive Fallout and Cancer," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 252 (October 12, 1984): 1854.

[41] Ibid., 1855.

[42] Johnson, "Cancer Incidence in an Area of Radioactive Fallout," 232.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Lyon, "Radioactive Fallout and Cancer," 1854.

Lyon, in separate studies of groups affected by radiation fallout, were unable to reconcile the large number of cancer cases with available fallout data. Caldwell in his study of military personnel present at the atomic test "Smoky" in 1957, figured that a dose of 70 rad was needed to produce the excess number of leukemia cases among the soldiers. Military records, however, revealed the soldiers experienced a dosage of only .5 to 1.0 rad. According to Lyon, there were three ways of explaining the discrepancies: (1) "results of the studies are due to chance, bias, or confounding," (2) "low levels of radiation may cause cancer more frequently than previously thought," or (3) "radiation received during the nuclear test was much greater than originally estimated."[45] Lyon's comments expressed what Jeanne Gerson and the downwinder victims had maintained.They felt that scientific data could not predict or explain reality and that the U.S. government had something to hide. Unlike the subjects of Caldwell's and Lyon's studies, however, *The Conqueror* participants were not directly exposed to radiation from a fallout cloud. Instead, they were exposed to residual fallout from a bomb that had exploded more than one year prior to filming. Because of this difference, a comparison between Jackovich's findings and those of Caldwell and Lyon would be misleading. Nevertheless, the problems Caldwell and Lyon encountered in correlating disease incidence and radiation levels are important because they raised the question of how much atomic fallout actually settled in St. George.

Intrigued by Lyon's suggestion that radiation levels may have been much greater than previously thought, U.S. Department of Energy medical researchers Harold L. Beck and Philip W. Krey conducted an investigation of fallout exposure levels in both high- and low-level fallout regions in Utah. After analyzing samples, Beck and Krey concluded that high leukemia incidence in southern Utah could not be attributed to fallout from the Nevada Test Site. In fact, Beck and Krey found a higher concentration of fallout in St. George from nuclear tests in Russia and the Pacific Ocean than from the Nevada Test Site. The radiation doses that most Utahns received from external exposure to Nevada Test Site fallout was small even in comparison with the lifetime doses they had received from naturally-occurring background radiation.[46] These conclusions challenged the downwinders' accusations regarding high fallout, and they corroborated Anspaugh's numbers that disputed whether *Conqueror* participants were in actual danger from residual fallout in 1954. Nevertheless, despite Beck and Krey's study, questions persisted for Utah downwinders because their cancer rates did increase. They, unlike *Conqueror* participants, watched the fallout clouds pass over the city and they also ate local meat and produce that were exposed to the fallout.

[45] Joseph L. Lyon and John W. Gardner, "Radiation Exposure and Cancer," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 246, no. 19 (November 13, 1981): 2153.

[46] Harold L. Beck and Philip W. Krey, "Radiation Exposures in Utah from Nevada Nuclear Tests," *Science* 200, no. 4592 (April 1,1983): 19, 24.

To explain the incongruity between radiation levels and cancer incidence, scientists developed theories of stochastic and non-stochastic effects of radiation. Supporters of the non-stochastic effect believe there is a threshold to radiation exposure, which means people subjected to radiation would only develop health problems if their exposure exceeded this threshold. This theory excluded *Conqueror* participants from claiming radiation-caused illnesses because they encountered negligible levels of atomic radiation. On the other hand, according to the stochastic effect, a threshold for radiation exposure does not exist. Instead, the probability of negative health effects increases in a linear function as radiation dosage increases.[47] Thus, the chance existed that even small radiation exposure raised the likelihood of cancer for John Wayne and other participants in *The Conqueror*.

Besides the stochastic theory, other scientific data seemed to support the conclusions of Karen G. Jackovich and Jeanne Gerson. In studies of World War II atomic bomb survivors in Japan, scientists discovered that solid tumors increased five to nine years after radiation exposure with an excess of tumors not noticeable until ten to fourteen years later. Risk, in fact, could remain high for much of an exposed person's life.[48] This time line fit more or less perfectly with the cancer developments among a handful of *Conqueror* participants. Both actor Pedro Armendariz and Dick Powell discovered their cancers nine years after filming, while John Wayne and Jeanne Gerson learned of their cancers eleven years after leaving St. George. Furthermore, scientists discovered that breast, lung, and stomach cancers were predominant among many Japanese survivors, and that leukemia was the most significant.[49] On the surface these discoveries in Japan correlated with results found among just a few of the *Conqueror* participants. Wayne was diagnosed with both stomach and lung cancer and Gerson was treated for breast cancer.

Although the correlation existed between the Japanese atomic-bomb survivors and some of the *Conqueror* stars, there were many complicating factors. Foremost among them was that most of the cast and crew of *The Conqueror* smoked cigarettes.[50] In fact, John Wayne smoked so many cigarettes–five packs per day–that he required other people to carry them for him.[51] All of Wayne's cancers–throat, lung, and stomach–could be readily attributed to his smoking. Other lifestyle habits such as drinking alcohol and sunbathing could also confound results and make it difficult to compare not only Japanese to Utahns but also Utahns to Hollywood

[47] Dade W. Moeller, "Radiation Units," in W. R. Hendee and F. M. Edwards ed., *Health Effects of Exposure to Low-Level Ionizing Radiation* (Bristol, United Kingdom: Institute of Physics Publishing, 1996), xxv, xxiv.

[48] John D. Boice, Jr., "Risk Estimates for Radiation Exposure," in Hendee, 239, 252.

[49] Ibid., 241.

[50] Ronald L. Davis, *Duke: The Life and Image of John Wayne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 182; Pilar Wayne with Alex Thorleifson, *John Wayne: My Life with the Duke* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1987), 103.

[51] Michael Wayne interview.

actors, a majority of the former group known to be religiously opposed to tobacco and alcohol. Additionally, the records about the types of cancers of other *Conqueror* participants were never detailed because John Wayne, Susan Hayward, and the handful of other stars in the movie, as usual, attracted all the media attention. Because not all cancers can be attributed to radiation, Jackovich's statistics may have been misleading on that point as well. In addition, while *Conqueror* cancers corresponded to the data from Japan, no leukemias were noted among the movie company participants. Of the cancers, leukemia has the strongest connection to atomic fallout and would have been most prevalent among the cast and crew, and especially their children, if they were indeed exposed to high levels of radiation.[52]

Despite the methodological problems and evidential gaps in the *Conqueror* claims, the allegation that there are indeed Hollywood downwinders is difficult to refute because the story lends itself to conspiracy thinking. During the 1950s, government officials repeatedly assured southern Utahns that radiation fallout was not harmful, but cancer incidence increased abnormally following the tests, thus belying the government's guarantees of the public's safety. That the government apparently lied once before makes it difficult for one to claim that it will not lie again by altering all information related to radiation fallout to protect itself. Jackovich implied this claim in the *People* article, strengthening her argument by revealing that 91 of 220 *Conqueror* participants had developed cancer by 1980. Jackovich's success, however, was not so much her numbers as her ability to make the unbelievable believable, to show that the government sacrificed the life of John Wayne, one of its staunchest defenders, to build better bombs. The implication was that the U.S. government respected no human life.

The American public, already accustomed to the idea of government cover-ups, such as the Watergate scandal in the early 1970s, viewed downwinders as victims of the government instead of as unpatriotic liars. They might have been branded as liars had their allegations surfaced only fifteen years earlier in 1964 when 75 percent of Americans then trusted the federal government "to do what is right always or most of the time."[53] By 1976, after Watergate and the Vietnam War had tested the American public's confidence in the government, only a third of Americans trusted the nation's leaders to do what was right. A careful analysis of the claims promoted by Jackovich and Brennan, among others, shows that there is little to no likelihood that *Conqueror* participants were adversely affected by radioactive fallout. Still, one can discount the contradicting evidence and arguments presented above by arguing that where the government, with its tradition of secrecy, is involved, no claim is too outlandish to disregard.

[52] Dr. Joseph Lynn Lyon, interview by author, tape recording, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 28, 1999.

[53] Robert Alan Goldberg, *Enemies Within: The Culture of Conspiracy in Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 259.

The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America By Sarah Barringer Gordon (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv + 337 pp. Cloth, $49.95; paper, $18.95.)

SOME UTAHNS WHO TRAVEL frequently outside the state have reported that many people they encounter have the impression Utah is the place where only Mormons live and that they practice polygamy. While the first impression may be somewhat understandable the second is harder for Utahns to appreciate. And yet, those who have this impression are not limited to ignorant fools. Even though Mormons practiced polygamy for less than sixty years, and they abandoned the practice more than 100 years ago, there are still intelligent people who assume that Mormon men have multiple wives. While attending a speech delivered by President George W. Bush at the Utah State Capitol I was seated next to a gentleman from Australia who had arrived in Utah the previous day to attend the Olympic Games. He was an educated man who travels to the United States and Europe quite regularly for business. Before the President began his speech the Australian confided to me "sottovoce" that he was quite surprised when he discovered that Mormons no longer practice polygamy. He asked me to confirm that the Mormon church's denial was not just a public relations stunt.

The impression that polygamy is still an accepted marriage option among Mormons is curious. It persists despite the LDS church's strong condemnation of the practice. This may be counterbalanced to some extent by international publicity given to schismatic groups which the press sometimes refers to as "fundamentalist Mormons." In addition the Mormon church retains what many perceive to be a curious vestige of polygamy: sealing men to wives they marry after the death of their first. Many Mormon historians have been reluctant to tackle the subject because it is so controversial and subject to misunderstanding. Furthermore, polygamy is a subject that is difficult for historians to research.

As a result there are very few comprehensive studies on the subject and most of these have been written during the past thirty years. Sarah Barringer Gordon's *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* is an important study which partially fills this void. Mormon historians have tried to explain, from an insider's perspective, why the Mormon prophet would introduce the practice, and why his successors would continue it with such enthusiasm, only to abandon

it when pressed by the United States government. Gordon's greatest contribution is her examination of the outsider perspective, why the national legal community was opposed to the practice, and the methods it employed to eradicate it.

Gordon's analysis of the *Reynolds* decision is particularly enlightening. Lawyers who recognize that result oriented analysis often dominates for court decisions will not be surprised the United States Supreme Court framed the facts in order to support its analysis that plural marriages were not constitutionally protected. The court articulated what became "a popular and politically important decision" by navigating around the dangerous precedent it set in the controversial *Dred Scott* case. *Reynolds* buttressed the court's reputation and became a "watershed in antipolygamy theory and activity" since it afforded the detractors of plural marriage a new legal high ground, which they combined with their previously claimed moral one. Thereafter "reformers, politicians, and lawyers" were galvanized in a "renewed commitment to the cause."

Gordon describes this revived campaign not just from the perspective of the polygamists. The same arguments advanced and methods employed by antipolygamists, which were not appreciated by the inhabitants of Utah during the 1880s, are perhaps more understandable to their monogamist descendants. Both sides to the conflict employed tactics they believed were necessary to vindicate the law as they understood it. The legal process was at center stage during this decade. The government raided, indicted, subpoenaed, tried, and incarcerated while the Mormons evaded, hid, and escaped. Lorenzo Snow appealed and prevailed. Gordon also discusses how the polygamy debate affected other contemporary issues which influenced women's right to vote and divorce laws.

Gordon's book contains much more about Mormon polygamy from its origins until its demise. She writes in pithy legal prose and has illustrated her study with familiar nineteenth century newspaper images. She is fair, well-informed, and thoroughly documents her work. There are more than eighty pages of notes and references. Her book is a welcomed addition to the few scholarly studies of one of the most important practices of nineteenth century Mormonism which even today continues to beguile the world. A careful reading of this work by the informed public will help to counterbalance the persistent misconceptions about the LDS church and the current residents of Utah.

MICHAEL W. HOMER
Salt Lake City

Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise By Glen M. Leonard

(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2002. xxiii + 828 pp. $39.95.)

GLEN M. LEONARD calls his newly published history of Nauvoo a religious history, but it is much more than that. While this remarkable book focuses on the guiding principles revealed at Nauvoo and the unfolding of the doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, such as the gathering of church members, temple worship, eternal marriage, priesthood organization, and succession in the presidency, it also is a veritable encyclopedia of how a town was built, who the citizens were, how an economy was established, and how a city government was set up. It traces the chronology of events that led to the expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo and the splinter groups that resulted after the death of Joseph Smith and the dispersion of his followers.

While its contents are especially of interest to members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, anyone desiring to understand the "clannish" Mormon society today will find ample information revealing that such judgments were a problem from the beginning. For instance, Leonard notes that the Latter-day Saints have always exhibited a political unity in casting their votes against those "whose interests ran contrary to their own"(10). Their cohesiveness in this regard was one of the reasons such hatred grew which eventually resulted in the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum and led, in the end, to a forcible expulsion of Latter-day Saints who lingered after most had left.

Many writers tend to mythologize Nauvoo as a sort of utopia, but chapter six realistically discusses the complexity of economics in a city with few exportable goods and much debt. Leonard deals with few problems and, in so doing, reveals a Brigham Young whose leadership after Smith's death brought order, unity and growth through trade unions, cooperative farming, building and manufacturing groups. Young organized outlying areas also, and sent missionaries to preach the gospel and to manage church congregations far from church headquarters.

Leonard's access to church minutes and other guarded documents in church archives aided in providing such an all inclusive history. He also gleaned from many studies by other scholars, using their writings to flesh out his narrative. The result is a more even treatment in subject matter. There seems to be no hobby horse mentality in his approach.

This reviewer found some problems in the layout of visual

material. Many nicely executed maps, reproductions of old photos and drawings fill the book's pages, but Leonard chose to only briefly caption them and, instead, put this identifying material after the endnotes. As an example, a map on page 162 is captioned only "Hancock County," no date, no explanation of what its purpose is, though it is referenced in the end of the book. Also, a map on page 526 labeled only "Carthage Convention," appears several pages before the discussion of that group which begins on page 538. Readers must work very hard to make such maps meaningful to them.

In spite of this, the narrative holds the reader's interest with its well written prose. This book is a most valuable addition for telling the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

AUDREY M. GODFREY
Logan, Utah

The Texas Republic and the Mormon Kingdom of God By Michael Scott Van Wagenen (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. xiii + 117 pp. $18.95.)

AS EARLY AS THE 1830s, Joseph Smith spoke of establishing Latter-day Saint colonies among "the remnants of Book of Mormon peoples between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains." Nauvoo's newspapers followed closely the Oregon Treaty negotiations in the 1840s and often published articles about California, Texas, and New Mexico. Lyman Wight, George Miller, and others proposed that some church members be sent to the west Texas plains and the Mexican Gulf and not only do missionary work among the displaced Indian tribes occupying that territory but also search out suitable places for Latter-day Saints to settle. As soon as the Nauvoo temple was finished, the saints could begin the long-range goal to establish Mormon communities throughout North and South America.

Michael Scott Van Wagenen focuses on the Mormon Texas experience from 1844 until the death of apostle Lyman Wight in 1858 which, "signaled the end of Smith's Kingdom of God in Texas"(69). Van Wagenen asserts that the prophet's "scheme" to relocate the church in Texas was only to be enacted if his United States presidential campaign failed and thus "this plan was kept in strictest secrecy among the top leadership of the church" (27). A Mormon homeland on the Texas-Mexico border was closely tied

to the Latter-day Saint belief that both the Native Americans who resided in the region and the Mexicans were descendants of a covenant people who had been promised that one day their posterity would not only embrace the gospel but would play a major role in establishing the New Jerusalem and the construction of a glorious temple in Jackson County, Missouri.

At a meeting of the Council of Fifty a decision was made "to dispatch a party from [Lyman] Wight's pinery [his Wisconsin logging operation] to meet with [Sam] Houston, teach him the Mormon gospel, and discuss the possibility of purchasing land to settle a group of Saints"(33). George Miller classified this group's mission when he wrote in his memoirs that Wight was "to make a treaty with the cabinet of Texas for all that country north of a west line from the falls of the Colorado River to the Nueces; thence down the same to the Gulf of Mexico and along the same to Rio Grande, and up the same to the United States territory, and get them to acknowledge us as a nation" (33-34). Lucien Woodworth traveled to Texas as the Council of Fifty's minister and held preliminary meetings with Houston.

Van Wagenen informs readers that "no historian has yet uncovered any Texas documents at all or any primary documents in general related to Lucien Woodworth's stay in Austin," yet information provided by George Miller "makes it clear that Houston and Woodworth reached a preliminary understanding about the purchase of certain Texas lands"(39).

Following the murder of Joseph Smith which ended his presidential campaign, Lyman Wight led a group of Mormons to Texas and attempted to establish permanent Latter-day Saint communities based on a communal economic system first practiced by Wight in Kirtland, Ohio. They named this, their first Texas community, Zodiac. Van Wagenen summarizes the twelve year history of this frontier colony of struggle until the sudden death of the sixty-one year old Wight on March 30, 1858, which brought the venture to an end. Sam Houston's opposition to the Utah War, and his chastisement of the government and military for not responding to Brigham Young's attempts at a peace settlement are also chronicled in this volume.

Reproduced in total in Appendix B are all the articles about Texas that appeared in Nauvoo's newspapers covering the years 1842-44. This trove of material is especially helpful in understanding the background of the Texas Republic and the Mormon Kingdom of God.

That Latter-day Saint officials denied Van Wagenen access to

minutes of Council of Fifty meetings, and so few primary sources have survived, forced the author to make questionable assumptions. For example, he asserts that one of Joseph Smith's most ambitious plans was "to move the main body of the church from Illinois to the Texas-Mexico border and establish an independent nation." Other historians of the Nauvoo experience, including Glen Leonard, have clearly shown that Joseph Smith's plan for the church included more geography than Texas and was still in flux at the time of his death. It is not likely that Texas was as prominent in Smith's thinking as Van Wagenen would have readers believe.

In his attempt to provide background for the Mormon-Texas experience in the 1840s, Van Wagenen, at times, tends to miss the mark. Nauvoo's population, for example, never reached let alone exceeded fifteen thousand residents (3), the Nauvoo Legion did not have more than five thousand adult members (20), and the city charter, instead of being unique, was much like other charters the Illinois legislature granted during the time period covered in this book (19). It is difficult to prove that Joseph Smith was a pacifist before the Latter-day Saint Missouri experience (17), or that he was a mediocre military leader (20), or that he was able to manipulate the political system to his advantage (25). Moreover, it is highly speculative to assert that he expected to be elected president by the House of Representatives (25). Though the months Joseph Smith spent in the Liberty Jail were difficult and physically taxing, it is unlikely that he and his companions were tortured (18) (unless eating what they came to believe was poisoned food could be classified as torture). Historian Richard L. Anderson has shown that on more than twenty occasions Joseph Smith, beginning as early as 1829, predicted his violent departure from this life and these predictions increased in frequency before his murder. Furthermore, an argument can be made that the bulk of the Latter-day Saints were aware that in the absence of the presidency of the church the Quorum of Twelve Apostles were in command and thus the foundations of Nauvoo, following the death of Joseph Smith, were not for two years shaking as Van Wagenen contends (52). It is difficult to believe that by the spring of 1846 there were sixteen thousand impoverished Mormons living in camps across hundreds of miles (57). Half that number is probably a more accurate figure.

Even though Van Wagenen often misses the mark as he treats larger themes in early Latter-day Saint history, his book does plow new ground as he explains aspects of Lyman Wight's Texas experiences. For this reason alone *The Texas Republic and the Mormon*

Kingdom of God makes a contribution in understanding the Mormon past.

KENNETH W. GODFREY
Logan, Utah

Butch Cassidy Was Here: Historic Inscriptions of the Colorado Plateau By James H. Knipmeyer (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002. xx + 160 pp. Paper, $24.95.)

THIS WORK by James H. Knipmeyer is a collection of often overlooked primary historic documents—original inscriptions—that have finally received the attention they deserve. James Knipmeyer has collected over 1,600 historic inscriptions for a quarter century, and it is heartening to see this research brought to bear in a serious scholarly book from the University of Utah Press. This book of photographic documentation of historic inscriptions is a result of painstaking research and a labor of love. Knipmeyer visited many of the sites himself, used numerous informants and historic documents to write this book. The book outlines the various kinds of exploration, use, and settlement that occurred on the Colorado Plateau from 1539 through 1909. Furthermore, he used historic documents to ferret out or describe inscriptions that were on long gone trees (dendroglyphs) or are now destroyed or inundated.

Supported by photographs, Knipmeyer's study of inscriptions begins with the Spanish and Mexican periods, covers the penetration of the Americans through the Mormon expansion, the exploration of the Colorado River, the Grand Canyon and Little Colorado regions, the settlement of southern Utah, prospecting, early archaeology, and tourism. In a mere 130 pages the connection between the signatures and dates, combined with the actual inscriptions related to specific historic documents and events unfolds. This book thematically reveals the sweeping story of one of the last regions to be settled in the Continental United States. In addition to documenting genuine inscriptions, Knipmeyer is persistent in his effort to validate their authenticity and to debunk frauds.

Through the hundreds of inscriptions across the Plateau that Knipmeyer has documented, he clearly articulates the important events in the history of a broad and rugged region by tying important individuals to actual locations on the landscape, giving history a much more tangible face. Although *Butch Cassidy Was*

Here is not the history of the Colorado Plateau per se, it is a new and personal twist on that story, tied together thematically using primary historic documents — the inscriptions themselves.

For history aficionados this book is an invaluable resource and a good addition to any collection on the Colorado Plateau. Not only individual names but also the make up of various groups of prospectors, exploring expeditions, and settlement parties are clarified.

A minor shortcoming in Knipmeyer's work is the lack of an explicit discussion on the difference between historic inscriptions and grafitti. Historic inscriptions are the products of individuals who were involved in various events leading to the exploration and settlement of an area. Grafitti, on the other hand, does not relate to important historic events. Historic inscriptions are not grafitti.

Knipmeyer's incredible effort not only documents historic inscriptions, but also illustrates their value and articulates their extreme fragility. As unique non-renewable resources, historic inscriptions are in danger of being irretrievably lost due to the natural processes of weathering and erosion, development, and well-intentioned, but ignorant recreationists who do not understand their importance. It is precisely because of these very threats that Knipmeyer's work is not only important, but critical at this juncture in time before the inscriptions are gone forever.

MARIETTA EATON
Grand Staircase-
Escalante National Monument
Kanab, Utah

Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847-1918 By Jeffrey Nichols

(Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002. viii + 247 pp. $39.95.)

JEFF NICHOLS ADDS TO THE historiography on prostitution with his examination of Salt Lake City from the mid-nineteenth century through the Progressive Era. According to his analysis, conflicts over prostitution and polygamy went hand in hand as Mormons and gentiles vied for power and control in the city. While LDS leaders cited prostitution as a symbol of weakened morality among citizens, gentiles and anti-Mormons pointed to polygamy as a similar circumstance among Mormon saints.

Prostitution came to Salt Lake City as a result of the transcontinental railroad. Madams and their inmates plied their trade downtown along interior blocks accessed by alleyways. Such a location

kept prostitution out of the public eye, yet made it easily assessable to urban clientele. As the controversy over prostitution, polygamy, and power raged on, the red light district operated under the close and watchful eye of the police and city administrators. Prostitution—though illegal—flourished, offering economic and political benefits for the city.

Mormon-dominated city governments led campaigns to regulate prostitution in the 1870s. By 1890 any government majority—regardless of religious or political persuasion—favored regulation as a means to deal with prostitution. Many believed the Victorian assumption that regulated vice districts protected the morality of the larger population. For Salt Lake residents, a defined district protected their property values.

Prostitutes paid for police protection through an unofficial system of fines. As in other major cities at the time, madams and their girls made periodic appearances in police courts. After paying their fines, women operated unmolested by police for a period of time, usually one month.

In the age of female associations, reform women's groups in Salt Lake assumed no woman voluntarily entered into prostitution. Reformers sought to protect women with their focus on the evils of vice. Efforts by LDS women's groups led to the establishment of a rescue home for women. Police and judges came to use the rescue home as a detention center for women arrested for prostitution. The women sent to these homes were not always interested in being "saved," however. Critics complained that women and girls sent there learned negative behavior from other residents. By the turn of the century, city administrators heard demands from residents to clean up the downtown area. But no one knew where those women who worked in the houses along Commercial or Plum Streets should go.

In 1908, the anti-Mormon American party, which dominated city politics, moved the red light district out of downtown and established the Stockade, a district physically enclosed by a wall around its perimeter, managed by Dora B. Topham—aka Belle London—and run much like a company town. With that move, independent madams and houses closed. Critics of the Stockade claimed the American party sought to keep all the business and political benefits red light vice could bring to the city. Progressive-minded officials even labeled the Stockade as a trust that should not be allowed.

Under civic and political pressure, the Stockade closed in 1911. Dora Topham was convicted for her role in running the district, a

conviction that was later overturned. The question of what to do with the former residents of the Stockade provided a forum for Mormon and non-Mormon women's groups to work together in relief efforts, though few prostitutes accepted such aid. Some continued to work as prostitutes in rooming houses throughout the city. Others gained legitimate employment. Many, however, simply left town.

Nichols tells the story of Salt Lake City's prostitution debate with great sensitivity to its complexity. Particularly interesting is his evidence on the role racism played in the location and treatment of prostitution. For example, Nichols shows how community sentiment insisted prostitutes and immigrant groups reside together. Extensive research in local archival materials is evident throughout the work. Exhaustive footnotes support his claims. This work shows how Salt Lake City fits the patterns seen in other American cities. Yet at the same time, Nichols explains the factors that make this story unique.

SHELLY LEMONS
College of Eastern Utah

Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890-1930

By Frank Van Nuys (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002. xv + 294 pp. $35.00.)

HISTORIAN JOHN McCLYMER declared in the 1970s that the Americanization movement might be the "least studied major social movement of modern American history." Since then we have made quite some progress in that field; however, the American West as a subject of historical inquiry has been almost left out of this research agenda. In his study *Americanizing the West*, historian Frank Van Nuys (a professor at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology) analyzes this phenomenon at the intersection of race, immigration and citizenship, integrating the findings of Western history, immigration history and political history in a laudable fashion. In short, how did the rough-and-tumble American West reconcile its differences in both myth and reality with the mainstream acculturation, education, and citizenship? Van Nuys' major historical focus lies in the two decades between 1910 and 1930, especially the World War I home front experience in the American West.

Van Nuys is aware of the process of rapid modernization that had effected the West since the early twentieth century and the changes that had been caused by this transformation from frontier to region.

This transition changed the profile of the western population with its heterogeneous ethnic make-up, and raised concerns of Progressives with their ideas of social engineering, their notions of centralization, and their often nationalistic norms. The overall concept behind Americanization, however, was what Robert Wiebe aptly has called a "search for order" in a society that was threatened by rapid industrialization and massive waves of immigration.

Programs of Americanization and hence assimilation, acculturation, and naturalization of immigrants focused on citizenship and its educational aspects, not so much on restriction or repression. In this study the distinctive features of the Western Americanization programs, with their specific problems concerning Mexican and Asian immigrants, are well defined and compared with the situation in the East. Van Nuys is very good at looking and analyzing the "distinctly Western idea of racial frontiers" (6) that signified the attempts to bar Asian and Mexican immigrants from mainstream Western society. He rightfully challenges the assumption that a number of historians have formulated that immigrants in the West acculturated more rapidly and were more welcomed than in the East. Though this assumption might be true for some European immigrant groups, nativism and outright racism were directed toward presumably "unassimilable" immigrants such as Asians and Mexicans. Van Nuys astutely emphasizes in his introductory chapter, that citizenship and American identity were inherently intertwined in the perception of Western nativists and supporters of the "racial frontier" rhetoric.

With the American entry into the First World War in April 1917 the paradigms of Americanization changed under the pressure on the home front of the necessities of war. Already in the preparedness campaigns prior to the war, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt had criticized a "hyphen-mentality" that undermined national identity. The one hundred percent Americanism spurred by the war was not only directed against immigrants, but also aimed at political radicalism, represented, for instance by the Industrial Workers of the World, a radical and often violent organization that created nightmares among Western entrepreneurs, especially in the Pacific Northwest.

The heightened emotions and social fears of wartime survived in the post-war period and were, to some extent, adopted by anti-immigrant racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Van Nuys rightfully asserts that Americanization "conceived as a vital element in a rational and progressive reordering of American society had been decimated" (69) in the post-war period. This

might explain the collapse of Americanization in the 1920s when the movement developed a generally negative connotation. In addition, the failure of Americanization, Van Nuys explains, also had pragmatic roots: the desired centralization of education for citizenship never had materialized. The Immigration Act of 1924 became a symbol for the attempt to close the "racial frontier" to newcomers, especially Asians, to the West.

This study is indeed a valuable contribution to our better understanding of the forces of social and cultural transformation of the American West.

JÖRG NAGLER
Friedrich Schillër
Universitat

Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place Across America Edited by Richard L. Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. xxiii + 318 pp. $49.95.)

Jena, Germany

HOMELANDS INDEED! My heart leaped at the subtitle; a topic dear to the topophilia I've suffered as long as I can remember. What could be more exciting than sense of place, than distinctive flavorful meldings of culture and topography, of people and landscape across America? What could be more delectable than an exploration of the subtle and the obvious, the sights, sounds, scents and the opening of the senses to distinctive places altered over time by distinctive but ever changing amalgams of people? The title makes the book sound like a potpourri of heightened awareness travel that I can enjoy nearly as well between the covers of a well-wrought tome as I can floating on the highways, byways and backways of America.

Then I looked at the book's drab dust jacket and wondered, "What were the designers thinking when they adopted this cover, 'Let's not entice anyone to read this monograph'?" I thumbed the pages and found some rather pedestrian photographs and a number of varied and largely illustrative maps. I saw a title page half toned and "dumbed down" with an image as disappointing as that on the jacket and as unclear as the overall vision of the text. Reading the book made me decide that even after accepting all of the muddied definitions of homeland proposed by the editors and authors, only four or five of the fourteen regions qualify as such.

Many questions arise as to the criteria used to select the book's homelands. For instance, why is "America" confined to the United States of...? French-speaking Quebec is an obvious omission that may fit the homeland definitions better than the United States areas included. And Mexico is mentioned only peripherally at the borderlands. Definitions and choices of region, it seems, were not made strictly on the basis of logic, or strength of research, or existing homeland literature. Assuming that the book was assembled and designed mainly for historical geographers rather than a broader audience, perhaps we should forgive its flaws. We should applaud any serious research being done on the subject of people and place in time. Ultimately, the best reason for readers outside of academia to examine this book may be for them to challenge and expand personal perceptions and directions regarding their own places, cultures, and "homelands."

Homelands features thirteen chapters under the following titles: "The New England Yankee Homeland"; "The Pennsylvanian Homeland"; "Old Order Amish Homelands"; "Blacks in the Plantation South, Unique Homelands"; "The Creole Coast, Homeland to Substrate: Nouvelle Acadie"; "La Tierra Tejana, a South Texas Homeland"; "The Anglo-Texan Homeland"; "The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma"; "The Highland-Hispano Homeland"; "The Navajo Homeland"; "Mormondom's Deseret Homeland"; "California's Emerging Russian Homeland"; and "Montana's Emerging Montane Homeland."

Of these thirteen chapters, readers of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* will probably find most interesting the two that treat the Navajo and Mormon homelands.

"The Navajo Homeland" is large and little diluted by non-Navajo people. It has evolved through a series of material cultures driven mainly by changing economic systems. I have long been fascinated by the Navajos' paradoxical Taurus—a visceral attachment to their present homeland opposed by their long migration from the far north and their love of travel. Home and away, yin and yang. Relative latecomers to the Four Corners region, they have developed an elaborate cosmology based largely on four principal sacred mountains, all on the periphery of their inhabited space.

The current extent of Navajo territory has been shaped more by the presence of earlier Utes, Pueblos, Hopis, and a rather grand canyon than by the later intrusions of Anglos. Despite their distant northern roots, the Navajo view this region as their place of origin. Much of this Four Corners area they designate as Dinétah,

land of the Navajo People or Navajo Country. Although they inhabit only the southwest fringe of their core space, individual Navajos still make pilgrimages along traditional routes between their sacred sites. Yet they consider all their supernaturally sanctioned land sacred and it is their ultimate journey—through their belief system—to strive for rapport with the natural or created world.

The Navajos have made conscious efforts to preserve their culture. Some of them in recent decades have successfully passed in both directions between Indian and Anglo cultures. Others have been caught in the twilight zone between those two worlds. A 1969 resolution of a Tribal Council committee called for changing the term Tribe to Nation: "It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Navajo people to retain their identity and independence," and we "remind Navajos that both the Navajo People and the Navajo lands are in fact separate and distinct."

If Stephen C. Jett's essay left me with more questions than answers (e.g., What are the actual demographics of religion and tradition among Navajos both on and off the reservation?), at least the people and place make a compelling case for calling Dinetah a homeland.

"Mormondom's Deseret Homeland," by Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion also ranks as a strong contender for the appellation "homeland" on the culture region-remnant continuum. This piece traces the changing history and geography of Mormonism across the continent and beyond, including many suggestions for further exploration enroute. Bennion's contribution is a powerful, readable, synthesis that plays off the region's and people's numerous paradoxes and ironies. He doesn't deal with the modern material culture—the visual elements of a transformed Deseret—except for passing comments on downtown Salt Lake City and temples. He also omits the ironies brought about by the recent influx of legal and illegal immigrants from Latin America, mostly Mexico.

Read this chapter; it is one of the standout gems in the book. Now, if only both of the above chapters and the rest of the book included an integrated array of telling photographs, and a touch of compelling design. But for these omissions I should probably fault the editors and publisher, not the authors.

GARY B. PETERSON

Still the Wild River Runs: Congress, the Sierra Club and the Fight to Save Grand Canyon By Byron E. Pearson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. xxii + 246 pp. $45.00.)

Mapleton, Utah

IN *STILL THE WILD RIVER RUNS* Byron E. Pearson has written a provocative work about the events surrounding the attempt to construct dams at Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon on the Colorado River. Conventional wisdom argues that a concerted opposition posed by the environmental community stopped the dams from being built. Pearson states that the controversy played out in two venues – "in the court of public opinion and in the political process." Additional factors included the social context of the 1960s and the local, regional, and international aspects of this southwestern water project. In the final analysis the author concludes that the machinations of the political process had more to do with stopping construction of the dams than the outcry from the environmental community.

Pearson walks the reader through a brief history of the different phases of Colorado River reclamation projects. At the center is the attempt on the part of the state of Arizona to put in place a mechanism for utilizing their share of the Colorado water for agricultural and other developmental purposes. The Arizona congressional delegation promoted many different ideas to create a Central Arizona Project (CAP). The biggest continual hurdle was to create a bill palatable to the powerful California delegation. This was attempted over and over again until successful passage of CAP in 1967.

The most ambitious plan was the Pacific Southwest Water Plan (PSWP) pushed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in the 1960s. Udall knew that passage of CAP depended upon the political agreement of many different constituencies. Udall created a plan to meet California's needs as well as those of the Upper Colorado River Basin states. His proposal included dams at Bridge and Marble canyons (built primarily to generate revenue to pay for the project), examination of an inter-basin water exchange from the Pacific Northwest, and a healthy belief in the future of nuclear power. This power would be primarily used to operate desalinization plants. Pearson skillfully narrates the navigation of the Pacific Southwest Water Plan in Congress that culminated in 1966 with a bill poised to pass before being buried by California representatives in the House Rules Committee. Pearson argues that even with all of the campaigning by the environmental

community, it was only California's desire to stop Arizona from receiving its share of Colorado River water that actually killed the bill and, subsequently, the building of the Grand Canyon dams.

Pearson also describes the environmental community's efforts to stop the dam component of the project. Fresh from their successful stoppage of the Echo Park dam and their regret over the construction of the Glen Canyon dam, the environmental community vociferously fought the building of the Grand Canyon dams. The fact that no dams were constructed in the Grand Canyon was a seminal victory for environmentalists in general and the Sierra Club specifically. Even with the public outcry, Pearson rightly points out that the environmental lobby had no substantive access to the inner workings of Congress and politicians pushed through the legislation with an attitude of business as usual.

Although there was great opposition to the building of the Canyon dams, there appeared to be little opposition to the passage of a dam-free CAP bill. In fact, many of the environmentalists' expert witnesses argued that the coming nuclear age and the accessibility of electricity produced by coal fired plants made the dams obsolete. The passage of CAP has led to modern environmental concerns about development in the Southwest and the use of fossil fuels in producing electricity.

This well documented and written narrative is sobering for those who believe in political activism. Not only educational, the book is an exciting read about an important event in the history of the American West. I would highly recommend this book for those interested in environmental history and in the development of the Colorado River.

BRADFORD COLE

Wayne Aspinall and the Shaping of the American West By Steven C. Schulte

(Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 2002. viii + 322 pp. $29.95.)

Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, Arizona

WAYNE ASPINALL'S TWELVE TERMS as Democratic Congressman from Colorado's western slope were amazing examples of political serendipity. Aspinall served from 1949 until 1973 with a constant eye toward the development of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which he chaired for

nearly a decade. Though born in Ohio, Aspinall, as a child, moved to the Grand Valley of western Colorado where he remained until his death. As a state and federal legislator, he championed the interests of his region.

During the 1960s, Aspinall did all he could to slow down the sweeping environmental movement. As Stewart L. Udall, the Secretary of Interior under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson, attempted to orchestrate a revolutionary environmental awareness, Aspinall served as the "brakeman." The diminutive congressman consistently championed the water and mineral development of the West. He supported almost all major dam construction proposals as well as any attempt to increase timber and mineral development. Aspinall viewed his role as someone who should legislate western prosperity by taking advantage of all potential resources.

However, from the 1950s on, he found himself at odds with all environmentalist groups. He fought for the proposed dam at Echo Park as a companion to Flaming Gorge and Glen Canyon. Echo Park's defeat steeled Aspinall in his determination to develop water resources. Aspinall personally delayed the passage of the Wilderness Bill, Canyonlands and Redwoods National Parks, and the Wild and Scenic River Bills. The Coloradoan believed that Udall had joined forces with environmental groups to wrongly protect the western landscape from development and exploitation. Aspinall continued to advocate uranium and milling long after even his own constituents had questioned the safety of such employment. He left his imprint on a decade of crucial issues and the correctness of his influence continues to be debated.

Steven C. Schulte has written a well-researched, straightforward analysis of Aspinall's career. The author remains detached and objective as he portrays Aspinall as a feisty battler for his perception of the West. In a period that is heralded as "the environmental decade," Aspinall battled against the forces of preservation and conservation. In his mind, he was trying to maintain prosperity in the West. He did not want the landscape declared off-limits for grazing, mining, or even recreation. He helped shape the West because his hand was felt on every piece of legislation involving the public lands. Aspinall despised the Antiquities Act and the presidential use of Executive Orders to achieve what Congress refused to grant.

This book is a primer on how legislation is introduced, amended, compromised, defeated or passed. The author chronicles the balancing act that exists between the federal authorities charged

with administering public lands and the legislators empowered to chart different uses.

Aspinall's career and his determination to advocate development made him an unattractive historical figure in some circles. However, he remained consistent and believed in taking care of the issues that impacted his constituents. The author succeeded in demonstrating that compromise is necessary for achievement and ultimately, that is Aspinall's legacy. His life is an example of a public servant who chose to slow down an environmental movement that he believed to be out of control and unrepresentative. Schulte allows the readers to form their own conclusions, but different points of view are a characteristic of this excellent small volume.

F. ROSS PETERSON

BOOK NOTICES

Indians in Yellowstone National Park By Joel C. Janetski 1987; revised edition, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002; 145 pp. Paper, $12.95.)

This volume was first published in 1987. The author, Joel Janetski, is a professor of anthropology and director of the Museum of Peoples and Cultures at Brigham Young University. Janetski's concise study is best described as a history of the peoples of the Yellowstone area. The book chronologically follows the various native peoples who have passed through this geographically unique plateau.

Over the past hundreds, even thousands of years, human beings have "traveled to Yellowstone for food, clothing, weapons, decorative items, and precious stones, to seek refuge from hostile groups and climates, and to live"(1). Janetski's use of previous archaeological research, as well as records and journals of early trappers, explorers, and park officials, provide the reader with a fascinating story of the Indians of Yellowstone National Park.

Mesa Verde National Park: Shadow of the Centuries By Duane A. Smith (1988; revised ed., Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002. xiv + 275 pp. Paper, $14.95.)

This popular history of Mesa Verde National Park by Duane Smith, prominent Western historian and professor of history at Fort Lewis College in Durango, is a revised edition that brings the story of Mesa Verde National Park up to the drought and destructive fires that occurred during the summer of 2002.

The book begins with a brief prologue about the original inhabitants of Mesa Verde that is followed by thirteen chapters that describe the initial discovery of Cliff Palace Ruin at Mesa Verde in December 1888 by Charles Mason and Richard Wetherill, the successful campaign to designate Mesa Verde a national park that was accomplished in 1906, and the struggles and accomplishments in preserving, promoting, and administering the national park during the rest of the twentieth century.

Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West

By J. P. Dunn, Jr. (1886; reprint edition, with a new introduction by David Dary, Mechanisburg, Pa: Stackpole Books, 2002. xi + 784 pp. Paper, $21.95.)

A nineteenth century "classic" on Indian wars of the Far West, the volume contains twenty-one chapters dealing with a variety of Indian wars in the American West. Readers of Utah history will find the chapters "Mountain Meadows" and "White River Agency" to be of particular interest. The former chapter is included because of the implications of Indian involvement in the massacre of the Fancher wagon train at Mountain Meadows. The latter chapter deals with white-Indian clashes in western Colorado, the Meeker Massacre, and the eventual removal of White River Utes to the Uinta Basin Indian reservation in eastern Utah.

A Passion for Gold By Ralph J. Roberts (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002. x + 232 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

For anyone who has ever asked, "What does a geologist do?" or anyone with a fascination with anything gold, Ralph J. Robert's autobiography, *A Passion for Gold* will prove to be a rewarding read. His autobiography alternates between his personal life experiences and his forty-four year career with the U.S. Geological Survey. Of particular interest to readers of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* is chapter 9 "The Oquirrhs: Bingham Copper-Gold Project, 1956-1971."

Roberts discovered some of the most fabulous mineral wealth in world history; the most recent, the Carlin Belt in Nevada, and his enthusiasm for geology will definitely rub off on his readers. "Gold," says Roberts, "is more than a gleam to me, for the exquisite beauty of its natural crystalline form has led to its being prized by both ancient and modern man" (xiv).

Riches for All: The California Gold Rush and the World Edited by Kenneth N. Owens (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xii + 367 pp. $27.95.)

This volume contains seventeen essays on the California gold rush written by thirteen well-qualified scholars. The authors bring their expertise and knowledge of the California gold rush to reevaluate select aspects of the event and to give special attention to local developments within the larger historical framework of the gold rush. The essays originated from a series of public programs presented in Sacramento at the Gold Rush Sesquicentennial Lectures in 1998-1999. Among the seventeen essays are: "Clouded Legacy: California Indians and the Gold Rush" by Albert L. Hurtado; "Never Far from Home: Being Chinese in the California Gold Rush" by Sylvia Sun Minnick; "Disorder, Crime, and Punishment in the California Gold Rush" by Martin Ridge; Susan L. Johnson's "The Last Fandango: Women, Work, and the End of the California Gold Rush"; and of special interest to Utah history readers is Kenneth N. Owens' "Gold-Rush Saints: Mormon Beginnings of the California Gold Rush."

The Glory Days in Goldfield, Nevada By Sally Zanjani (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002. xv + 141 pp. Cloth, $31.95.)

Sally Zanjani, award winning mining historian and author of eight books, successfully brings to life one of the West's last great mining boomtowns. This photographic essay, with more than 160 historic photographs and illustrations, some never before published, accompanied with first-hand accounts from Goldfield saloon-keepers, gamblers, housewives, prostitutes and gold-rushers, provides a vivid history of the town and its inhabitants.

The Glory Days in Goldfield, Nevada follows the town from its rise in 1902 to its fall in 1920; from its early days as a mining camp through its heyday as the largest city in Nevada, to its partial destruction and eventual decline.

Race and Homicide in Nineteenth-Century California By Clare V. McKanna, Jr. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002. xii + 148 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

High murder rates have always been an indication of a society in turmoil, and nineteenth-century California was no exception. Using a case study approach, which examines the California Indian, Chinese, Hispanic, and the white experience, Clare McKanna explains the way race and ethnic prejudice influenced the early California judicial and criminal justice system.

Based on extensive research, analysis and careful interpretation, the author presents a detailed portrait of a society where ancient Spanish and Chinese legal prac-

tices collided with English common law and the "Code of the West." Where the nature of crimes, trials, and sentencing varied with the ethnicity of the perpetrators and their victims, and where greed, poverty, and violence created tensions that often led to death. Clare McKanna is a lecturer in the Departments of History and American Indian Studies at San Diego State University and author of *Homicide, Race, and Justice in the American West* published by the University of Arizona Press in 1997.

Cedar Mesa: A Place Where Spirits Dwell By David Petersen. Photographs by Branson Reynolds (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. xvi + 82 pp. Paper, $13.95.)

Author David Petersen and Photographer Branson Reynolds, both twenty-year veterans of Cedar Mesa "canyon country," combined their talents and knowledge of the area to provide us with an intimate look at a place that can only be adequately explored on foot or horseback. Cedar Mesa, located in the heart of San Juan County in southeastern Utah, is home to examples of all the geological wonders that define the Southwest. The book provides a personally guided descent into the canyons, where stone arches, natural bridges, hidden springs, hanging gardens, wildlife, and Indian ruins dot the landscape.

Accompanied with photos, this small book seeks to convey the message that in keeping this place wild and nearly inaccessible, we in turn are able to preserve and protect this "uniquely magical desert place."

Wolf Mountains: A History of Wolves along the Great Divide By Karen R. Jones (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002. x + 348 pp. Cloth, $49.95.)

Karen R. Jones gives a detailed account of wolves in Yellowstone, Glacier, Banff, and Jasper national parks. Jones begins with the general history of the lupine species and explains its varied mythological significance to Native Americans, Europeans, settlers, farmers, ranchers and environmentalists. Then the presence of wolves in the four Rocky Mountain parks mentioned above is chronicled from the first excursions by explorers such as Lewis and Clark. Jones continues through the near extinction of wolves in some areas, to the relocation of wolves in the 1990s, and efforts to preserve the species in these national park habitats. An account of the main legislative decisions affecting wolves in these parks during the 1800s and 1900s is woven throughout the text. Jones ends summarizing the current ongoing debates surrounding the controversial restoration of wolves in the West. Extensive maps, notes, bibliography, and index are also included.

Wilderness & Political Ecology Edited and with an introduction by Charles E. Kay and Randy T. Simmons (Salt Lake City; University of Utah Press, 2002. ix + 342 pp. Cloth, $45.00.)

This book began as a course on pre-Columbian aboriginal impacts, taught by Charles E. Kay at Utah State University during the Spring of 1998. Supported by a grant from the Milton R. Merrill endowment, guest lecturers from across the United States were invited to Utah State University to speak. Recognizing the value of these presentations, the papers were compiled and included as chapters in this book.

It is generally accepted that the pre-Columbian Americas were a pristine state, a wilderness untouched by man. If native peoples are mentioned at all, it is usually assumed that they were too few in numbers to have "any significant impact in the natural state of the American ecosystem, or that they were original conservationists who were too wise to defile their idyllic 'Garden of Eden'"(xi).

The editors and contributing authors disagree with this view. Not only do they argue that native people were more numerous than once thought, but they were not conservationists, and, in fact, took an active part in using the environment for their desired needs. "In short, the Americas, as first seen by Europeans, had not been created by God, but instead those landscapes had largely been crafted by native peoples" (xii).

Moving Out: A Nebraska Woman's Life By Polly Spence, edited and with an afterword by Karl Spence Richardson (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 280 pp. Paper, $17.95.)

Moving Out is an autobiography by Polly Spence in which she retells historical events from her own perspective; the immigrant experience and small-town Protestant life through her childhood memoirs; the Great Depression through the eyes of a young adult who comes to realize the growing financial hardships of her family and town; and the solitary rancher's life in the midwest as a wife and mother. Not only does Spence relate her own story, but also the stories of people around her, making *Moving Out* a collection of humorous and touching narratives.

Interpreting Historic House Museums Edited and with an introduction by Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002. vii + 326 pp. Cloth, $70.00; paper, $24.95.)

"House museums are natural settings for teaching and learning history and can be among the most effective environments for successfully carrying out these tasks" (vii). With this in mind, the book attempts to define some of the key elements of discovering, organizing and telling the historic house story. Most of the fourteen chapters began as papers presented by a wide range of house museum experts at two conferences hosted by the McFaddin-Ward House Museum in Beaumont, Texas. The chapters provide recommendations on how to plan, research and develop a historical site's story into a clear, practical and entertaining interpretation for visitors. Topics such as interpreting the whole house, male and female roles, furnishings, landscapes, effective tours and programs, as well as interpretive tool kits, are covered along with such issues as historic preservation, effective communication with visitors, and meaningful education programs for students. The book is a volume in the American Association for State and Local History Book Series and will be of interest to museum professionals as well as anyone who enjoys visiting historic house museums.

On Doing Local History By Carol Kammen 1986; second edition, (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003. vii + 189 pp. Cloth, $70.00; paper, $24.95.)

This is the second edition of the 1986 book of the same title. The author, a scholar and teacher of local history, defines local history as "the study of past events, or of people or groups, in a given geographic area" (40). It is a study based on a wide variety of documentary evidence, that when done properly, provides a study of the human condition in and through time.

Whereas Kammen's first edition was meant to be an aid for those seeking to place local history within a broader theoretical and methodological context, the revision, completely updated and revised, reflects the author's current thinking, and how the study of local history has changed since the first edition. Kammen raises questions about various aspects of a local historian's job, the use of evidence, the structure of research programs, language, relations with peers, the problems of audience expectations, and publication.

This book is for both the professional and amateur historian, attempts to deal with the particular conditions under which a local historian labors, and seeks to warn of problems that are particular to the field.

The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; collecting historic Utah artifacts; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs, museum, or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

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